

הוצאה לאור

Caffeine Free



THE JERUSALEM POST

Call the States.

From Israel, just dial:
177-100-2727



VOLUME LXIII, NUMBER 19314

MONDAY, JULY 1, 1996 • TAMUZ 14, 5756 • SAFARI 15

NIS 150 / Eilat NIS 3.80

INSIDE
EIGHT PAGES
FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
WEEKLY REVIEW

Savir: Tibi role could be dangerous

DAVID MAKOVSKY

BRINGING Israeli Arabs like Yasser Arafat's adviser Ahmed Tibi into the peace process as negotiators would be "dangerous," outgoing Foreign Ministry Director-General Uri Savir said yesterday.

He added that this would blur their identity and because of this, he refused to hold talks with Tibi.

Savir, 43, a spearhead of the secret Oslo talks and crucial player in subsequent peace negotiations with the Palestinians, is leaving the Foreign Ministry this week, after 21 years as a career diplomat and top aide to Shimon Peres. He is expected to be replaced by his deputy, Eitan Bentsur.

Savir, who bid farewell to ministry workers yesterday, is to join a Shimon Peres peace center which is to be established and affiliated with the Hebrew University. He is also expected to get involved in Labor Party politics before the next election, but for now he is entertaining offers from the private sector.

He calculated yesterday that he spent about 3,000 hours negotiating with the Palestinians, which began in May 1993 in Oslo, continued through the Gaza/Jericho First talks and culminated with the Oslo II accords.

Terje Larsen, the Norwegian academic who helped initiate the talks and has since become UN special coordinator in the territories, said of Savir, "I think there is no greater compliment to say about Uri than to say without him, the Oslo peace process could not have been possible."

Before departing yesterday, Savir had lunch with diplomatic correspondents and made the following observations:

"The Palestinian track is so vital that contacts must continue, often by security officials on both sides, on a 'minute-by-minute' basis. He voiced concern that if this did not occur, the peace process "while irreversible in terms of Israeli control over Palestinian lives, could still go backward."

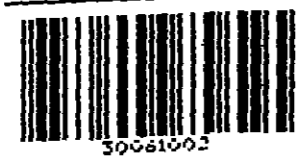
He said great energy must be invested in finding points of convergence with Arab interlocutors, as "there are always a thousand reasons why not to reach agreement. The key is to find the right reasons to do so."

"There needs to be greater appreciation by both Israelis and Palestinians about the importance of public opinion on each side, and can only stem from "greater curiosity" by the media of both sides about the other's society. The lack of curiosity ensures that each side has too little knowledge about the other, Savir said.

David Rudge adds: Tibi expressed astonishment last night at Savir's comments on Israeli Arabs.

"It appears that he [Savir] feels that he has successfully completed dealing with the peace process and there are no more dangers hovering over the process, and he found the spare time to launch a biting personal attack on me. I cannot accept or understand this."

"The statement of Mr. Savir that he is against the participation of Israeli Arabs in the peace process, in any form, is dangerous, racist and paternalistic," he said last night.



The cabinet discusses the government's economic plans yesterday, with Finance Minister Dan Meridor in the foreground, and Foreign Minister David Levy (left) and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in the background. Story, Page 8. (Flash 90)

Officials concerned over Turkey-Israel relations

DAVID MAKOVSKY

WHILE publicly voicing confidence, Israeli officials remain privately concerned about the impact that the ascension to the premiership of Islamic party leader Necmettin Erbakan will have upon burgeoning Turkish-Israeli ties.

In an Israel Radio interview yesterday, Ambassador to Turkey Zvi Elpeleg sounded sanguine about the unprecedented elevation of an Islamic leader, saying it will not affect the close bilateral relationship which in February was crowned by a military accord between the two countries.

Moreover, Elpeleg sought to encourage Israeli tourists to return to Turkey. Tourism levels are currently significantly below last year's high-water-mark of approximately 300,000 visitors.

In remarks made over the weekend, Erbakan charted a middle way between East and West in foreign policy, espoused free-market reforms and paid homage to modern Turkey's secularist founder, Ataturk. "Cooperation with both the West and with the Islamic, Central Asian and Balkan countries with which we have spiritual and historic links will be increased," Erbakan said at a presentation ceremony for his new cabinet.

In a reference to the recently signed military deal with Israel, Erbakan said he would abide by

Suicide bomber kills nine Turkish soldiers

TUNCELI, Turkey (AP) - A woman with explosives strapped to her body blew herself up in the middle of a military ceremony yesterday, as a marching band played the Turkish national anthem.

Nine other people died and 30 were injured, some of them seriously, said Gov. Necati Bilican, who blamed Kurdish rebels. The Anatolia news agency reported 35 people were wounded.

The Germany-based, pro-rebel DEM news agency said it had no rebel statement or claim of responsibility for the attack. Earlier report, Page 4

Germany wins crown with first 'golden goal'

LONDON (Reuters) - Germany won the European soccer championship for the third time when they beat the Czech Republic 2-1 in yesterday's final with the first "golden goal" of the tournament. Substitute Oliver Bierhoff hit the deciding goal in the fifth minute of extra time, his second of the game. Full report, Page 10

Peretz fires opening shot in Histadrut-gov't battle

To meet Netanyahu, Meridor following today's warning strike

MICHAL YUDELMAN

SOME 400,000 workers are to hold a one-hour warning strike this morning to protest the anticipated economic measures to be taken by the new government.

The strike will encompass government ministries, local authorities, Kupat Holim Clalit, public transport, and government corporations, including the Israel Electric Corp., Bezeq, El Al, the Ports and Railways Authority, Israel Chemicals, Israel Aircraft Industries, TAAS-Israel Industries, and others.

In most workplaces the workers will hold protest meetings from 10 to 11. The banks will be closed from 8 to 9, and post offices will open only at 9. Workers at the National Insurance Institute announced that they will also not receive the public this afternoon, to protest the fact that since 1979 no new workers have been hired, and their workload has increased considerably.

Hospitals will operate with skeleton Shabbat staffs, and firefighters and Magen David Adom will handle only emergency cases. Disruptions are expected in train schedules.

The Histadrut called the strike as part of its fight against the government's plans for privatization that will probably lead to mass dismissals, and against possible cutbacks in social services, price hikes, and violation of workers' pension rights.

Despite Finance Minister Dan Meridor's promises not to harm the lower-income earners and not to raise taxes, Histadrut leaders said that the drastic cuts in health, education, and welfare budgets and a proposed 1 percent hike in VAT are tantamount to wage cuts and tax increases for salaried workers.

Histadrut Chairman MK Amir Peretz decided not to wait until the government actually moved on these issues, and fired the Histadrut's opening shot yesterday, with disruptions at Bezeq.

Peretz is scheduled to meet Meridor and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu today, to discuss the proposed economic program.

"The Histadrut and its econo-

mists know as well as we do that if we don't take these measures the workers will be the first to be hurt," Meridor said. "We intend to take a course which will cause less damage and do more good."

Peretz, who decided on the warning strike with the large unions last week, said over the weekend that despite his requests that the Treasury coordinate its economic moves with the Histadrut, there were indications that the government was planning unilateral steps.

The Histadrut is demanding to be a partner to the economic program that will affect all the nation's workers, he stressed.

Some 200 union leaders representing some 50,000 civil service workers held an emergency meeting yesterday at Histadrut headquarters to coordinate the strike.

The private employers asked the Histadrut to cancel the strike in the business sector, since it would cause unnecessary damage. Peretz authorized local labor council secretaries to decide how the meetings in each workplace could be conducted so as to minimize disruption.

Arbel: Knesset shouldn't provide refuge against indictments

EVELYN GORDON

THE state should try again to get Shas MK Raphael Pinhasi's immunity lifted by the Knesset, State Attorney Edna Arbel said yesterday.

"We certainly don't think the Knesset should be a city of refuge for people with indictments pending against them," she said, in her first meeting with reporters since

taking office six months ago.

Then attorney-general Yosef Harish decided to indict Pinhasi in 1993 for tax fraud and violations of the Party Funding Law, because during Shas's 1988 election campaign he had allegedly illegally hired yeshiva students,

who are barred from working because they receive draft deferments. He then failed to report this to the tax authorities, and allegedly submitted a false set of books to the state comptroller. However, the Knesset refused to lift his immunity.

Now that there is a new (Continued on Page 2)

DAILY PRIVATE TOURS

<p>JORDAN 1 to 4 Day Tours Departing from: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv or Eilat</p> <p>Daily Guaranteed Departures (minimum 2 passengers)</p> <p>HIGHLIGHTS Petra, Jerash, Amman, Madaba, Mt. Nebo, Wadi Rum and Aqaba</p>	<p>EGYPT 4 to 10 Day Tours Departing from: Jerusalem or Tel Aviv</p> <p>Daily Guaranteed Departures (minimum 2 passengers)</p> <p>HIGHLIGHTS Cairo, Luxor, Aswan, Abu Simbel, The Grand Nile Cruise</p>
--	---

For more details and brochures please contact:

B.T.C. Travel & Tours Tel: (02)-233-990 Fax: (02)-257-827

NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Due to the rising cost of materials and operating expenses, we are obliged to update the prices of The Jerusalem Post (effective July 1, 1996) as follows:

Weekdays NIS 4.50
Fridays and holidays NIS 6.70

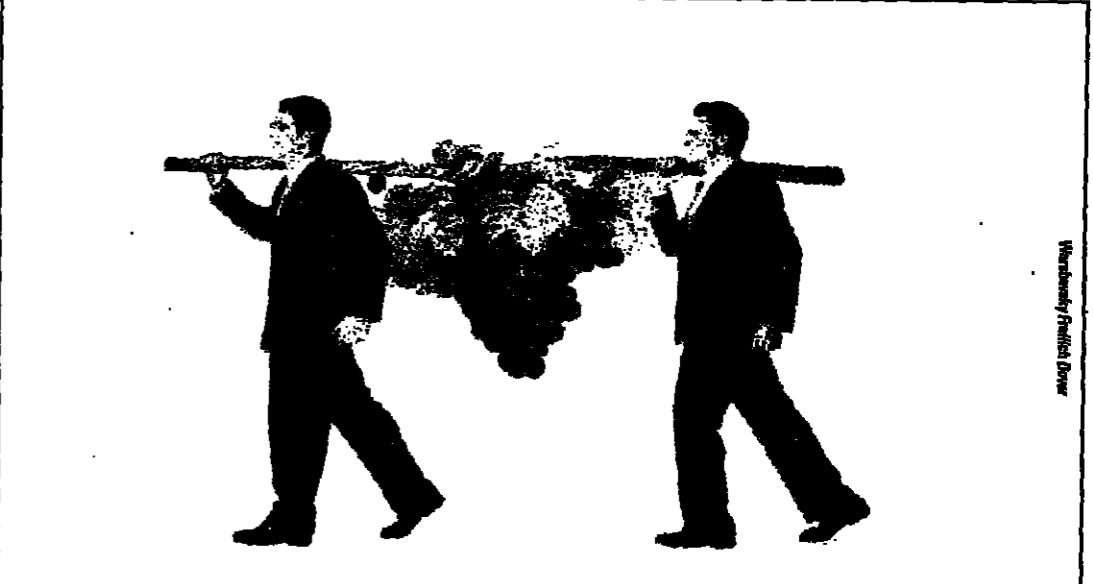
MONDAY EVENING FORUM

Monday, July 1 - **INDIA FROM A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE** (Video Presentation)
Dr. Yossi Goell, Noted Writer, Lecturer and Traveler

Admission NIS 5

Every Monday evening at 8 p.m., in English

THE CENTER FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM IN JERUSALEM
2 AGRON STREET, P.O.B. 7466, JERUSALEM 94265
Tel. 02-266386, 267463



ISRAEL'S ECONOMY IS ON THE MOVE.

We offer you a comprehensive and diverse range of banking and financial services, based on six decades of unrivaled expertise. Talk to us first, and profit from a fully informed picture with professional services specifically tailored to your needs. Including a special program of highly competitive financing opportunities.

- Open a tax free foreign currency account and enjoy:
- Strict confidentiality
- Short & medium term deposits in all major foreign currencies
- Deposits convertible into all major foreign currencies
- Highly competitive interest rates
- No estate duties, tax free interest in Israel
- Funds transferable worldwide.

Should you choose to diversify your assets, consider investing through the Bank, in bonds and stocks, traded worldwide and on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

A real estate purchase in Israel entitles you to loans of up to 50% (60% under special circumstances) of the property value.

For details, visit any branch of Israel Discount Bank, or contact our Business Promotion & Marketing Department, 16 Mapu St., Tel Aviv. Tel: 03-5216223, 5247279. Fax: 03-5242343. E-Mail: mea@netvision.net.il

ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK



July 11, 1996

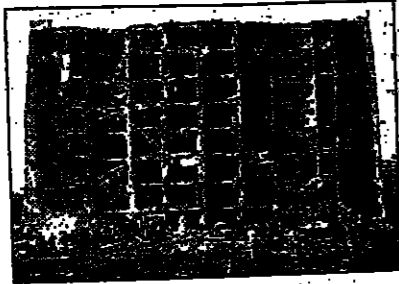
Sunday, June 30, 1996
Vol. CXLV—No. 50,474
Copyright © 1996 The New York Times

Desert Storms For Danger In the Mideast, Just Look Around

By JOHN KIFNER

JUST when Americans might have thought the Middle East was safe—at least for oil and Israel, the usual concerns—there was a sharp, ugly reminder last week of just how unstable the region really is: a huge truck bomb that took 19 American lives. Ironically enough, the explosion was in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, which six years ago was the main base for the American-led Gulf war that ended Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

At the time, the war seemed part



The site where 19 Americans died.

of a chain of events that would change the Middle East forever. The vital oil fields of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, if not democracy, had been saved. And, in the way events in one part of the Middle East reverberate in another, the Palestine Liberation Organization, having thrown in with Iraq, wound up so weakened that it had to make peace with Israel, heralding a new era.

An Arab summit meeting was held in Cairo shortly after the Iraqi invasion and shattered the myth of Arab solidarity (memorialized in a food fight in which the Iraqi delegation hurled lunch at the spotless white robes of the Kuwaitis). It was a myth maintained by ritual gatherings and by fist-waving at Israel, with the illusions and diversions only crippling chances for change.

As last week began, Arab leaders gathered again in Cairo to resurrect the myth of Arab solidarity. In doing so, they papered over their sometimes lethal differences, as well as the threats many of the governments face from their own people. But it is those differences that continue to make the region so dangerous and unpredictable.

For centuries, religion has in-

spired the most violent actions in the Middle East. A Cook's tour from Iraq to Algeria, from Turkey to Sudan, would show that militant Islam is the common thread (there is an echo in Israel, with the growing power of its nationalist Orthodoxy).

To pure benefit add more mundane factors: poverty, frustration and a demographic time bomb. Throughout much of the region there is a dangerous population bulge of the young, the restless and the volatile. In Saudi Arabia, 58 percent of the population is under 24; in Egypt 57 percent, in Jordan 65 percent.

Afghan Legacy

Iran is frequently pointed to as the principal sponsor of terrorism, but a more important threat may be the presence of veterans of the Afghan war—the ex-mujaheddin, or holy warriors, who were backed by the Central Intelligence Agency in one of the last struggles of the cold war. Saudi Arabia helped pay for that war and sent hundreds of fiery-eyed zealots from its puritanical Wahabi sect who, along with other Islamic volunteers, fought with the Afghans and now want to continue their struggle elsewhere. The men who bombed the World Trade Center in New York came from these ranks, as did four Saudis who set off a car bomb that killed five Americans in Riyadh last November. It is called "blowback" in the intelligence community. The four were beheaded last month, and the latest bombing is believed to have been in retribution, aimed not only at the "infidel" Americans but also at the Saudi royal family.

Appearances

So the tour of the region can start in Saudi Arabia itself, outwardly oil-rich and seemingly stable. Upon America's previous best friend in the Persian Gulf, the Shah of Iran, who tried to secularize and modernize a deeply religious country, the Saudi royal family is deeply entwined with the ulama, the religious leadership. Islamic law is strictly enforced. Indeed, King Fahd's very legitimacy rests on his role as the Sheriff of Mecca, protector of Islam's holiest place. The dynasty's founder, Ibn Saud, seized this role with his desert warriors—the Ikhwan, or brotherhood, of fundamentalist Bedouin—

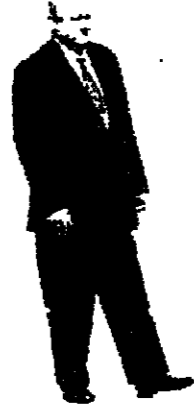
Continued on page 3



Investigators report finding clues in the fragments of a truck that was detonated as a bomb in Saudi Arabia.

Kremlin Watching After it votes, can Russia carry off a succession?

By Alessandra Stanley



2

Twilight Zone As the sun sets on British Hong Kong.

Photographs by Jeffrey Aaronson

2



Kohl's Ride German Chancellor's European ambitions are undermined at home.

By Alan Cowell

3

Clintonspeak vs. Dolespeak

It's a War of Words (Say What?)

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON

"I'm willing to be another Ronald Reagan, if that's what you want," Bob Dole declared in a speech a year ago as he began his long oratorical slog toward the Republican Presidential nomination. By now, of course, the listening national senses he should live so long.

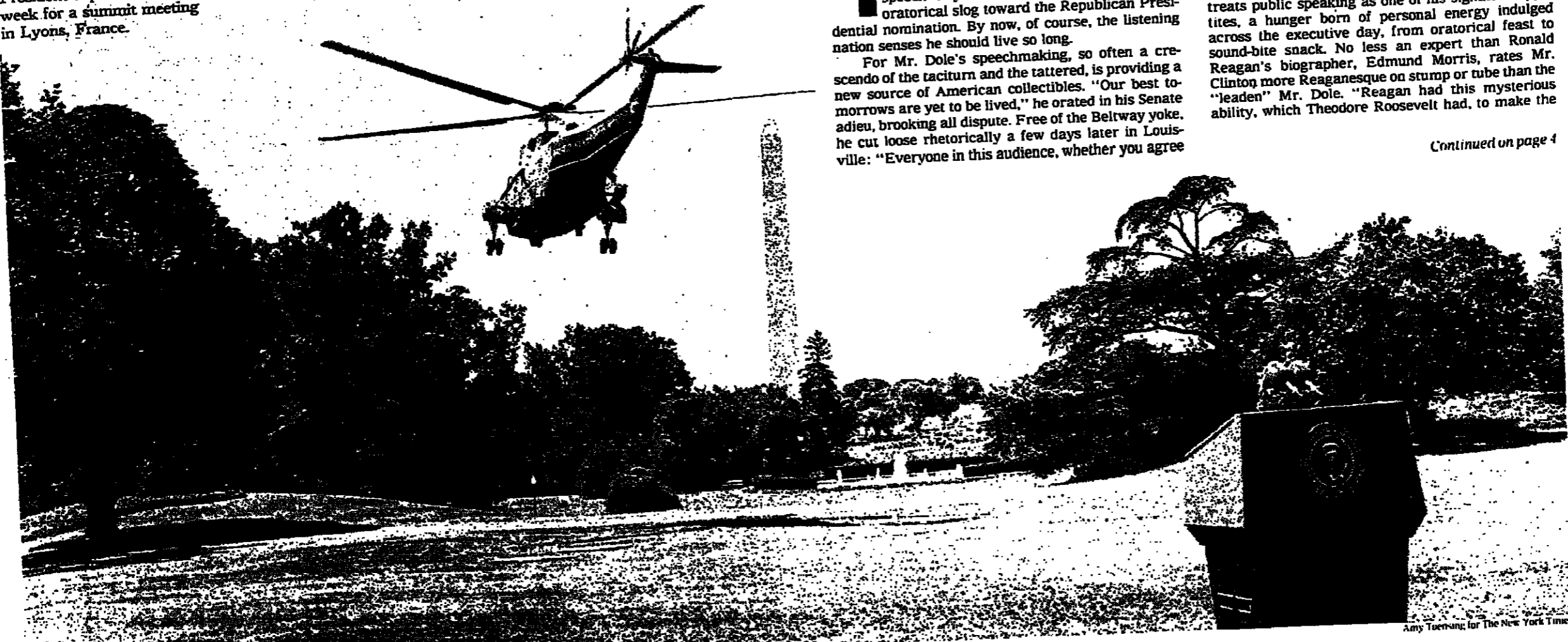
For Mr. Dole's speechmaking, so often a crescendo of the taciturn and the tattered, is providing a new source of American collectibles. "Our best tomorrows are yet to be lived," he orated in his Senate adieu, brooking all dispute. Free of the Beltway yoke, he cut loose rhetorically a few days later in Louisville: "Everyone in this audience, whether you agree

with me or not, this is America." In announcing his resignation, Mr. Dole made speechifying news in finally following the lyrical paragraphs of a newly hired novelist-speechwriter. More often in the campaign, he stubbornly puts away his newfangled prompter machine and retreats to his patented Senate monologist's shorthand.

President Clinton, in contrast, is a politician who treats public speaking as one of his signature appetites, a hunger born of personal energy indulged across the executive day, from oratorical feast to sound-bite snack. No less an expert than Ronald Reagan's biographer, Edmund Morris, rates Mr. Clinton more Reaganesque on stump or tube than the "leaden" Mr. Dole. "Reagan had this mysterious ability, which Theodore Roosevelt had, to make the

Continued on page 4

Verbal interregnum:
Microphones at ease as the
President departed last
week for a summit meeting
in Lyons, France.



Amy Tuerbang for The New York Times

The World

In Hong Kong, Last Looks at the Empire

It is giving up colonialism with some trepidation, but Hong Kong will say goodbye to the British a year from today. On July 1, 1997, it will come under China's jurisdiction. Under Beijing's instructions, the islanders must not only shed their Governor and legislature, but also some of their lesser British vestiges.

These are expected to include references to things royal; already, the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club and the Royal Hong Kong Yacht Club have changed their names. But what of visual references? No one is sure when the statue of Queen Victoria will be carried out of Victoria Park, or whether the Communists will tolerate Hong Kong's few touristy rickshaws, which conjure class distinctions. The raunchiness in the Wanchai district will likely fade under Chinese anti-pornography edicts, but no one can be sure if the sun will set on the Club Hot Lips.

The transition is well under way, but some images of colonialism remain. Hong Kongers have 365 more days to behold them.



A guard at the Pillar Point camp for Vietnamese refugees, which is to close.



Photographs by JEFFREY AARONSON/Network Aspen, for The New York Times

Rickshaws, taboo in China under Communism, have an uncertain future in Hong Kong after the 1997 takeover. This driver works out of the Star Ferry terminal.



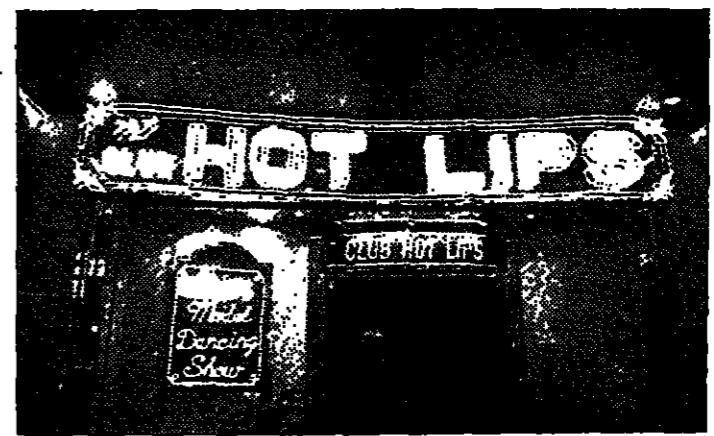
A statue of Queen Victoria, vestige of the Commonwealth that it is, will likely be removed from Victoria Park.



Gov. Christopher Patten, with Queen Elizabeth II over his shoulder, in the Governor's mansion.



Over Hong Kong's harbor, James Toms of the Royal Air Force. The British patrols will end next June 30.



Western-style lewdness, the kind advertised at this strip-tease club in the Wanchai district, will confront Chinese standards.

Russian Fears

After the Voting, Who Transfers Power?

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

IN the bad old days of Soviet rule, the mechanics of transferring power from one leader to another were relatively clear. When the leader died — or, like Khrushchev, was deposed — the Politburo would select his successor. No public swearing-ins or white-tie balls. The closest thing to a festive ceremony was a dead leader's funeral procession to Lenin's Mausoleum.

If Boris N. Yeltsin wins his bid for re-election in the runoff voting on Wednesday, questions about succession may arise only if he dies or is incapacitated early on in his second term. But what happens if the Communist leader, Gennadi A. Zyuganov, is elected in an upset?

"I don't even want to think about it," Mikhail Krasnov, Mr. Yeltsin's chief Kremlin counsel, said with a shudder.

There simply are very few rules on succession, and reactions to this gap offer a glimpse at the uncertainty — in Russian minds, if not in fact — about just how committed each side is to government by the people.

The Communist leadership has been thinking obsessively about the transfer of power for the last six months. Arguing, with some cause, that the 1993 Russian Constitution is woefully inept on the subject, Mr. Zyuganov's colleagues in the Duma, or parliament, drafted a 28-article law setting out new rules to insure a smooth transfer of the keys to the Kremlin.

Last week, Mr. Yeltsin refused to sign it.

The main sticking point is the seemingly antiseptic Article No. 9, which states that if the Kremlin is not available for the swearing-in ceremony, the president-elect can take the oath of office elsewhere.

That sliver of protocol cuts deep into the darkest fears of both sides, dredging up all the bad memories, mutual suspicion and paranoia that fuel Russia's first presidential election since the Soviet empire collapsed. With little in the last 1,000 years of history to allay anxieties, each side believes the other will not abide by the election results. Even though both sides calmly accepted the results of the first round of voting, which narrowed the field to Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Zyuganov, they still accuse each other of seeking pretexts to bulldoze over the returns and seize power illegally.

1917 All Over Again?

Communists say they included the swearing-in provision because they fear that if the voting does not go as Mr. Yeltsin plans, he could hole up in the Kremlin and refuse to surrender the code to the nuclear button.

Mr. Yeltsin's team says this is a sneaky attempt to lay the groundwork for Mr. Zyuganov to denounce the results as fraudulent and declare himself president in a Red Belt area outside Moscow, like Tambov, a Communist-run town that has already raised the red flag over the main city government office and gave it back its old Communist name, the city soviet, or council.

"We can't help treating the law as a lever to establish diarchy," said Mr. Krasnov. "Every possibility

to avoid diarchy has to be used."

By calling it "diarchy" Mr. Krasnov was using a relatively mild term to describe his boss's worst nightmare: a 1996 replay of the "Dvoyevlastiye" (dual-rule), the period in 1917 when a provisional government led by

The laws don't spell out a ceremony, and an effort to do so has Yeltsin crying foul.

Aleksandr Kerensky ruled in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg while the Bolsheviks, headquartered in that city's Smolny Institute, declared themselves the rulers of thousands of soviets around the land. In October, the Bolsheviks resolved the impasse with a coup that gave Lenin full control.

Mr. Zyuganov says he is offended at the very suggestion and insists that the law was really drafted to insure Mr. Yeltsin a happy and safe retirement. "We are only interested in the strict observance of the law," he said recently. "We want to put an end to spitting in the back of every outgoing personality."

Still, even in their most far-reaching fantasies, few in Russia can quite envision a scene in which Mr. Yeltsin loses and moving vans drive through Spassky gate, the

President hits the golf course, and thousands of aides pile their papers into cardboard boxes and start seeking jobs in the private sector. One reason is that Mr. Yeltsin has never said he would go quietly.

In any event, there is a very good chance the law will never see the light of day in time to be of any use to Mr. Zyuganov. If Mr. Yeltsin loses, his successor takes over 30 days after the results have been certified. And when the Duma convenes again on Friday, two days after the voting, Mr. Yeltsin's aides will send the bill back to the parliament with suggested fixes to Article 9.

Details, Details

To supplement the 30-day provision in election law, the only guidance on succession provided by the Constitution is Article 82, which specifies the wording of the swearing-in oath, and states that the ceremony take place "in a solemn atmosphere in the presence of members of the federation council, deputies of the state Duma, and judges of the Constitutional Court."

The process of passing a new bill to amplify on those instructions is a race against time and procedure, and Mr. Yeltsin can also veto it. So the bill's authors seem resigned to never seeing their handiwork come to life. "For me, it doesn't matter," Oleg G. Romyantsev said sourly. "Yeltsin's going to be re-elected." Mr. Romyantsev is a consultant to the parliamentary committee on legislation and legal reform. "The President will do what he wants," he said. "For me this whole process has been an 'haute couture' exercise. It's purely an art form."

Handwritten text in a box: *الجمهورية العربية السورية*

The World

Kohl's Ride Astride History Gets Rough

By ALAN COWELL

TWO snapshots from the Helmut Kohl album: One from last week shows the Chancellor at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate, symbol of so much European pain and regeneration, where the visiting Pope John Paul II is lauding him as "the architect of the newly gained unity of your people" — just the kind of epithet a politician seeking history's benediction might crave.

But a scene days before provides not quite the same grist for posterity. Before 300,000 German labor unionists in Bonn, Dieter Schulte, Germany's top labor boss, rails at the sweeping new spending cuts that Mr. Kohl calls the essential price of European integration and security. "I ask Helmut Kohl," he says, "do you want to go down in history as the Chancellor of the unification of Germany and of Europe or as Chancellor of the highest unemployment in German history?"

The two moments illustrate the extremes of acclaim and denunciation now marking the tenure of the industrialized world's most durable leader.

At 66, Mr. Kohl is the first Chancellor since Prince Otto von Bismarck to oversee Germany's unification. In world forums like the summit meeting of the Group of Seven powers in Lyons, France, this weekend, he is the ultimate veteran, his stay in office overlapping three American presidencies, equalling François Mitterrand's 14 years and outlasting the 11 years of Margaret Thatcher's dominance in Britain.

By the end of this year, barring the unexpected, Mr. Kohl will rank as Germany's longest-serving postwar Chancellor, surpassing Konrad Adenauer's marathon tenure from 1949 to 1963. And if his ambitions translate into reality, he will be the first German leader ever to stitch his land so firmly into Europe's fabric that it will never be able to repeat the belligerence that has scarred world history.

Herr Consensus?

But there's the rub. Midway through his fourth term in office, Mr. Kohl's ambitions are being undermined not only by other Europeans fearful of German economic and political dominance, but also the pocketbook opposition of his own people. That tension leaves the latter days of Mr. Kohl's chancellorship fraught with risk.

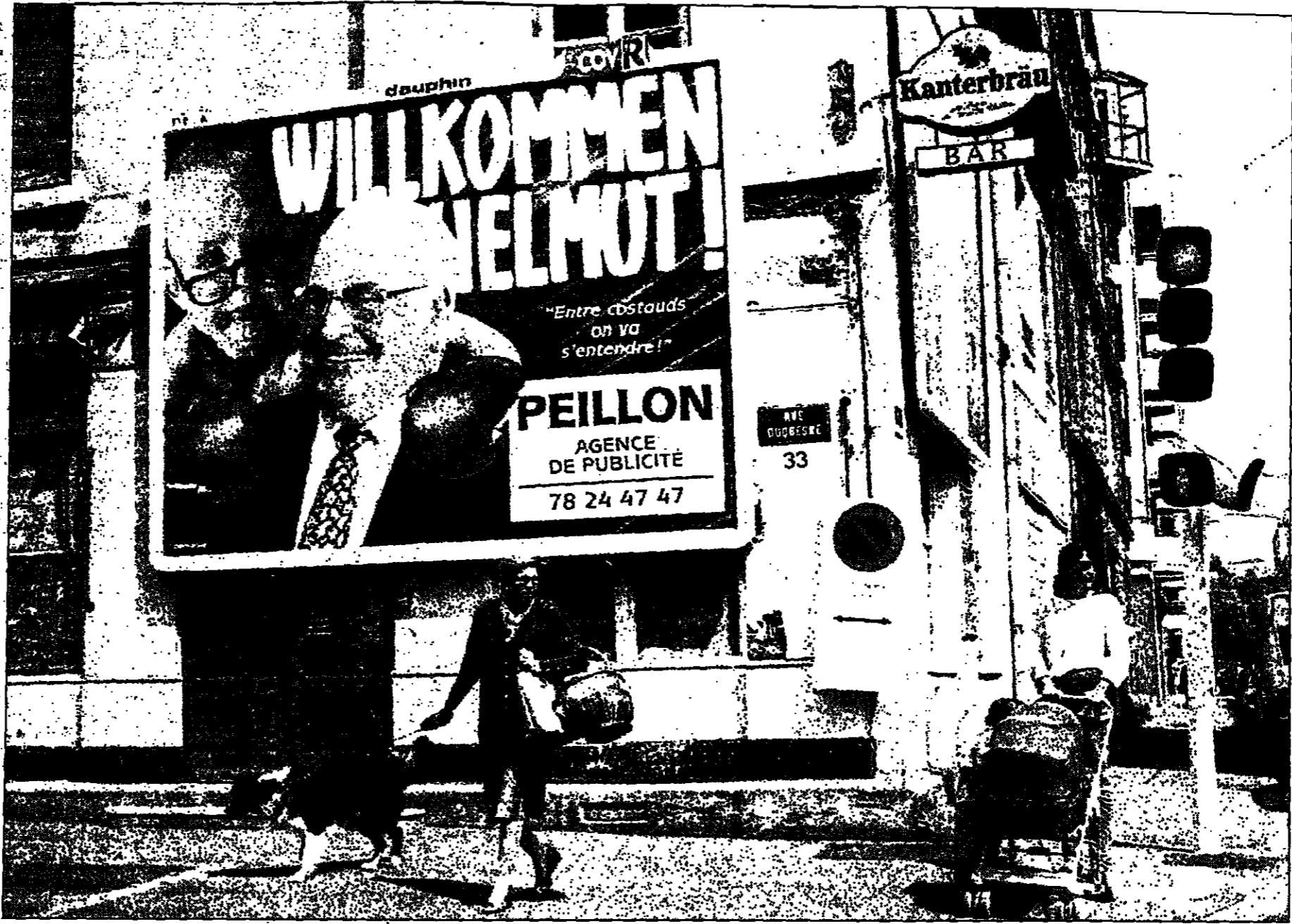
Prodded by strict European rules meant to insure that a united continent stands on secure economic foundations, Mr. Kohl has begun dismantling Germany's welfare state, and in the process imperiled the cozy consensus that has defined not just postwar Germany but also Mr. Kohl's entire political style.

On his watch, much of Germany's postwar history and assumptions have caught up with it. Germany's vaunted welfare state is becoming ever more burdensome; unification in 1990, far from the tax-free tryst that Mr. Kohl first suggested, has turned into a long, slow struggle that has cost renege taxpayers \$300 billion.

All of this threatens to turn Mr. Kohl the lauded visionary into Mr. Kohl the sinner of debts — the man who must persuade his voters to work more for less if the land is to control its own destiny and compete in a worldwide market as the dynamo of a united Europe.

Forty years ago, the challenge might have been easier. But gritty industriousness has long given way to the 35-hour week and copious benefits of a leisured, aging society shielded from pain by Germany's hallmark social compact between labor, business and government. In 1990, unification was a popular idea. Six years on, paying the price is not.

So is Mr. Kohl up to the job of creating a newer, leaner Germany without shattering the consensus? The



A billboard in Lyons, France, last week welcomed Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany to the summit meeting there. Germans seem less thrilled by him lately.

answer hinges on style as much as substance.

No hands-on economist, Mr. Kohl is probably most comfortable playing the statesman and arbiter on the big issues — what Germans call "Chefsachen," matters for the boss — deviously leaving others, notably Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, to sweep up after messier affairs like Germany's current calamitous slide into hostile relations with China.

Europe is one such big issue, and integration, Mr. Kohl insists in unbridled advocacy of an earlier time, is a matter of "war or peace in the 21st century." It is an implicit recognition of Europe's tribal dynamics, in which Germany has always been an object of justified fear among its neighbors.

A Provincial Visionary

Mr. Kohl is a politician who won out partly because his electoral opponents are so feeble and partly because he has such instinctive guile, drawing strength almost casually from the bluff, what-you-see-is-what-you-get manner that plays so well to his conservative compatri-

ots' aversion to the unknown.

His suits are predictably dark. His humor is predictably clunky. ("At political meetings," he told an audience recently, "the speeches should be short and the sausages should be long.") His manner is predictably dull until he breaks into his predictable beam. And the people who re-elect him do so because they know exactly where German unpredictability has led in the past.

These days, though, Mr. Kohl is asking his followers to take a leap into the unknown, embracing the sacrifices of a post-industrial society driven by global market forces.

Politically, he is safe enough. National elections are two years away. Important state elections earlier this year delivered space to maneuver.

Yet instinctively Chancellor Kohl is not one to thrive on drama and public confrontation in the operative manner of, say, his Italian counterparts. He is a provincial politician who transcended his beginnings without forgetting them, a man who tends his party machine assiduously, favoring back rooms and strategic telephone calls to bully and outsmart his adversaries.

Sweeping gestures, such as his towering command of German reunification, are all the more striking because of their rarity. And there are vulnerabilities. Mr. Kohl's coalition with the Christian Social Union and the Free Democrats has only a 10-seat majority in the lower house while, for all their problems, the Social Democrats control the veto-wielding upper house.

The Dogs Are Barking

So there is a further quandary: Mr. Kohl's instinct habitually counsels caution, but deadlines like the creation of a common European currency by 1999, not to mention Germany's own economic slide, demand faster footwork than the stately pace with which he traversed the Brandenburg Gate.

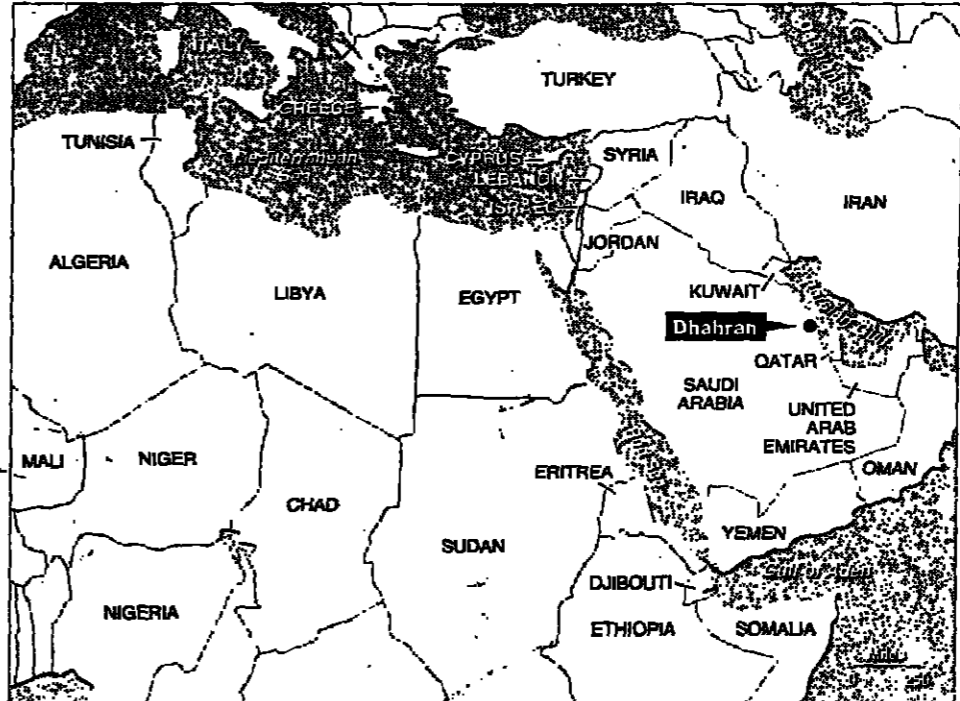
The Chancellor still maintains that the minutiae of the daily political tussle with his opponents will not blur the grand vision — the dogs bark, he says, but the caravan moves on. This time, the weekly *Die Woche* replied, "the proverbial caravan cannot and will not move on as if nothing has happened."

An Unsettling Cook's Tour

For Danger in the Mideast, Just Look Around



The Arab summit meeting in Cairo last week was called to show Arab unity. Yasir Arafat, center, is shown at the closing session.



The New York Times

Continued From Page 1

from the Hashemite family in 1924, charging that they had failed to protect pilgrims and enjoyed a corrupt monopoly on the sale of dried lizards, which are used as a tonic.

But, particularly since American troops arrived to defend the kingdom five years ago and were allowed to stay on, the Government's policy of juggling friendship with the West and fundamentalism at home has come under growing attack. Senior religious scholars have posed a series of open challenges, amid widespread accusations of corruption and, worse, decadence. The criticism has grown as the oil boom that supported a safety net of free education, easy jobs and cheap housing collapsed and the country had to absorb \$120 billion in war costs. The Government itself is in disarray since King Fahd suffered a stroke in No-

vember, with power now apparently centered in Crown Prince Abdullah.

America's other main supporter in the Arab world is Egypt's President, Hosni Mubarak. Under him, Egypt remains perpetually in ruins and a breeding ground for fundamentalism. Its attempts to industrialize are a shambles, its Government bureaucracy legendary for sloth and inefficiency. Its schools spew out the poorly educated into a nonexistent job market and its tiny strip of farmland along the Nile is being gobbled up into jerry-built urban slums that sometimes collapse into the sewage on which they are built. Its Islamic fundamentalists periodically shoot out tourists, the police, Coptic Christians or Government officials and are shot up in return.

Next door to Saudi Arabia, Jordan has joined Egypt as a leading backer — and hopeful beneficiary — of the peace with

Religious zeal, poverty and frustration are common threads.

Israel. Six years ago, Saddam Hussein was on posters all over Amman and King Hussein had taken to calling himself the Sherif, the title his family lost to the Saudis (in the Middle East alliances can shift like the proverbial sands). But the King's embrace of Israeli officials and his grief at the funeral of Yitzhak Rabin, the assassinated Israeli Prime Minister, have cost him badly at home. "We are very unhappy with the King," a money changer volunteered to a

foreign reporter recently, in an open display that would have been unthinkable in the tightly controlled kingdom of a few years ago. There has even been rioting among the Bedouin, traditionally the King's base of support in a population that is largely Palestinian. Government officials worry, too, about a growing social disparity, with a tiny rich elite living in enormous new mansions surrounded by increasing poverty. The King has accused Syria of smuggling in terrorists to cause trouble, and last week Palestinian guerrillas, apparently coming from Syria, sneaked over the Jordan River and killed three Israeli soldiers.

In Israel, the peace process with the Palestinians has been on hold since the election of Benjamin Netanyahu as Prime Minister. Settlers and the religious right are elated and plan new settlements. Palestinians are frustrated at being kept from jobs in Israel and resentful of the high-handed leaders who

with the peace have returned from their headquarters in Tunis.

Keep traveling and it doesn't get much better. Syria and Iraq remain gangster states, each ruthlessly ruled by a small clique from a religious minority — Alawites in Damascus, Sunnis from the village of Tikrit in Baghdad. In Algeria the military dictatorship that replaced failed socialism is battling Islamic revolutionaries who murder foreigners and liberals. Turkey, where Kemal Ataturk introduced secularism after World War I, is getting an Islamic fundamentalist Prime Minister (though in coalition with secularists). By the way, Turkey is also suppressing a Kurdish insurgency in its southeast. The Kurds have been hiding and training in Syria, and the Turks got so fed up, intelligence officials say, that they recently set off a big bomb in Damascus — one more reason to be wary of rosy forecasts for the Middle East.

Ideas & Trends

Make Crime Pay: Get the Goods

By DON VAN NATTA Jr.

THE spoils of the war on crime come in all shapes and sizes.

They are as big as Pablo Escobar's 407-acre ranch in White Fish, Mont., which the Government seized in 1990 and sold to the highest bidder Friday. And they are as small as a (computer) mouse, which Federal prosecutors took from a housewife who had run a telemarketing scam from her kitchen tabletop.

The Government has also seized paintings of Saddam Hussein, jars of Dead Sea mud, coffins and gravestones, porpoises and exotic birds, even the mansion where Axel Foley stayed in "Beverly Hills Cop II."

Whatever its notoriety, the value of the stuff adds up. Since 1990, Federal agencies have seized \$2.7 billion worth of cash, stocks, homes, cars, boats and airplanes from drug kingpins, money launderers and white-collar criminals. Yet this year, the forfeitures have slowed to a trickle — just \$325 million is projected in 1996, \$215 million below 1994's total.

The reason is simple: courts around the country have eroded the asset forfeiture laws. Two Federal appeals courts concluded that seizing property in civil proceedings and carrying out a criminal prosecution at the same time violates the constitutional bar against multiple punishments for the same crime.

'Nonpunitive Goals'

Last week, however, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the practice does not amount to double jeopardy. Civil forfeiture is simply not a form of punishment, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist concluded in the majority opinion. Acknowledging that forfeiture has "certain punitive aspects," the Chief Justice said it also served "important nonpunitive goals," like discouraging property owners from allowing

their land to be used for criminal purposes.

"The ruling was enormously important," said Stefan D. Cassella, deputy chief of the Justice Department's asset forfeiture and money laundering section. "Until this decision, we were hamstrung. We were forced to choose between the forfeiture or the prosecution. If we could only do one, we would obviously do the prosecution."

The Court's decision flabbergasted defense lawyers, who had lauded its recent decisions that chipped away at asset forfeiture and rebuked prosecutors for leveling "excessive fines," which are prohibited by the Eighth Amendment. Richard J. Troberman, a Seattle lawyer who is a

The Court gives its blessing to asset forfeiture laws.

leading opponent of asset forfeiture, called the decision "the most disappointing from this Court in a very long time."

In one of two cases that led to the Court's decision, a Michigan man forfeited his house because he had processed marijuana there. The lone dissenter, Justice John Paul Stevens, said the forfeiture was clearly punitive because "there is no evidence that the house had been purchased with the proceeds of unlawful activity, and the house itself was surely not contraband."

Some form of asset forfeiture has been around since Biblical times. In the 18th century, America seized pirate ships to take away the plundering gangs' ability to plunder. Arlington National Cemetery sits on what was once an estate owned by Robert E. Lee, who forfeited it to the Govern-

ment after the Civil War.

Defense lawyers accuse prosecutors of going on "treasure hunts," saying there is a fundamental conflict when the Government prosecutes crime and benefits from its proceeds. (Those proceeds pay administrative costs and restitution to victims, and the remainder is split with local law enforcement agencies.) It is also easier than winning criminal convictions, they argue, which require a higher standard of proof. Prosecutors counter that the defense bar is zealous in its opposition because the assets seized would otherwise end up in lawyers' pockets as legal fees.

To make its point about Government overreaching, the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers has collected examples. One is the case of an elderly couple in North Miami Beach, Fla., arrested for holding a poker game with friends and family. The Government, the defense lawyers note, seized the couple's home.

The defense lawyers' tale ends there, but then the prosecution's story starts.

"This was not some dime-a-ante poker game for fun," snapped Ellen Zimiles, an Assistant United States Attorney in the Southern District of New York. "It turns out the guy was running a long-time gambling operation. The house was a gambling den. These were not sympathetic characters. He was referred to as 'the Count.'"

The Rolex, Please

Prosecutors have their own stories. In one, a judge in Alaska tossed out a multi-kilo cocaine-trafficking indictment because the Government had seized the defendant's Rolex watch, which he had presumably used drug profits to buy. Double jeopardy, the judge said. The Government lost a shot at an important conviction, prosecutors argue incredulously, and the Rolex was a consolation prize. Some prosecutors omit the kicker, however: The ruling was overturned on appeal. So the Rolex, it turns out, was a bonus.

A War of Words (Say What?)

Continued From Page 1

most banal scripts somehow seem magical," notes Mr. Morris. "I simply cannot explain the mystery behind that."

Dole partisans argue their man's unvarnished sentences and drifting whatevers are the stuff that made Dwight D. Eisenhower irresistible to the voters: a kind of syntactical carapace within which Mr. Dole will lumber toward a tortoise versus hare victory over Mr. Clinton. Mr. Dole provides such a contrast to the talkatively gifted President that Republicans insist their man will finally prevail as "the un-Clinton," the reassuring politician of oak-solid years and hopes. They are hoping for a voters' verdict first prescribed by Cicero: "I prefer tongue-tied knowledge to ignorant loquacity."

Not Yet High Noon

This is the choice imagined by Tony Dolan, who served as President Reagan's chief speechwriter. He contends, even putting scandals aside, that Mr. Clinton is slowly amassing public doubt, not confidence, as he puts so many rhetorical bets down on so many different ideas each day. "Remember Gary Cooper?" Mr. Dolan asks, citing the monosyllabic movie actor as a tight-lipped model for Mr. Dole. The film star "would testify at those hearings and he'd say, 'Well, from what I hear about Communism... I don't like it... because... it isn't... on the level.'" Mr. Dolan recites the line as clipped and confident as Mr. Dole made himself sound in predicting how he'd contain the Republicans' endless fighting over abortion: "Piece of cake."

Between the Reagan and Eisenhower models, the lesson is clear that a good speech, if it can't be electrifying, must at least not be stultifying and, above all, must be revealing of the speaker's human identity. "People say, 'You're going to make me sound like Reagan?'" notes Mr. Dolan, now a speech consultant. "And I say, 'I'll do better than that. I'll make you sound like you.'"

Dole partisans are betting this is a matter of small, steady revelation, not the clarion declamation envisioned by Walt Whitman. ("To mark the people rage, weep, hate, desire, with yourself, / To lead America — to quell America with a great tongue.") In running against the odds in 1948, President Harry Truman finally managed to get his tart wit across to appreciative voters. ("If you want a friend in Washington, buy a dog.") But his opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, sitting on his poll leads, never flashed much individuality. At least not until after the upset, when he eschewed the good loser's posture and likened himself to a man suddenly finding himself inside a coffin with a lily in his hand. ("If I'm alive, what am I doing here? And if I'm dead, why do I have to go to the bathroom?")

Mr. Dole has more than four months to accustom voters to his stream-of-consciousness salvos on the stump in which he virtually brachiates from topic to topic, fast as Henry Youngman. In one recent slew

of segues, he tripped from his wife to health care to a satirical White House blood bank to keeping the next First Lady away from governing, to purloined F.B.I. files, to his schauzauer named Leader. "We'll get into that later," he suddenly concluded. "Animal rights or something of that kind." Whether voters could track his last-forward criticism of the Clintons, from First Lady controversies to political correctness, is an open question. Some news professionals actually worry that quoting the candidate verbatim, rather than filling in the blanks of his whatevers, makes reporters seem anti-Dole.

"Dole impresses me as a 19th century patriotic picnic speaker," says Peter Quinn, a corporate speechwriter who wrote for Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York, the Democrats' baritone hope of yore. Mr. Quinn finds a Dole speech sepia-tinged with the dearth of simpler times. "He was probably great at picnics in Kansas in the 50's when he started. And Clinton? He's more like jazz: he lays down a line and then he plays it."

President Clinton was never jazzier than the night when the prompter machine that was invisibly scrolling his State of the Union message stopped dead between him and the watching nation. This was a problem due in part to Mr. Clinton's penchant for tinkering with texts and ideas to within minutes of delivery. But that night he seamlessly improvised a long stretch until the scroll resumed, never missing a beat.

More easily than Mr. Dole, the President fine-tunes mood and twang to his audience, most obviously in his down-home speeches in the South where he exults in "talkin'" with the folks, and "huntin'" for ducks flying "so thick you can hardly see the sky." But Mr. Clinton's sax-like searching for the perfect riff can also lead him astray, most famously one late night in Texas when he eased into a bluesy apology for his 1993 tax increase. Republicans are orchestrating this impromptu passage into their campaign to oust him.

Mummy Love

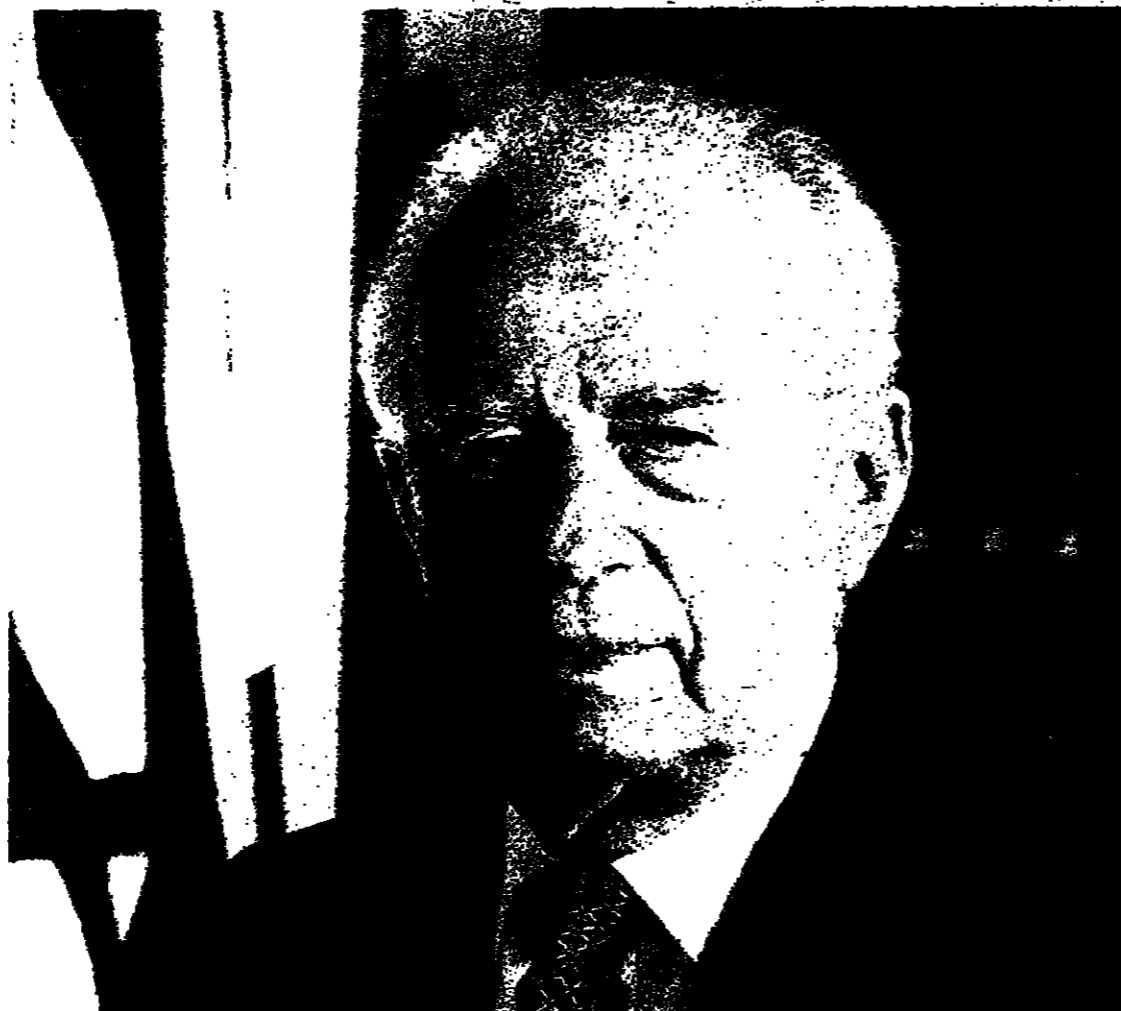
If the President has a speaking weakness, it may be a willingness to chase intriguing tangents. "I don't know if you've seen that mummy," he lightly ad-libbed at a political dinner last month after a speaker praised a museum show of the wondrously preserved "Ice Maiden," a teen-age virgin sacrificed centuries ago. "You know, if I were a single man, I might ask that mummy out. That's a good-looking mummy." His audience roared, sensing self-parody as he smiled broadly.

Mr. Clinton may pay the ultimate compliment to Mr. Dole's speechmaking, however, by sending a campaign operative lately to monitor the Republican's speeches live. The interloper can be seen holding a cell phone on high to pipe the challenger's every strophe and glyph back to the Clinton campaign's now famous rapid-response team.

Somewhere, Democratic trackers listen tightly from the seat of power, code breakers trying to parse each spoken whiff of Bob Dole's whatever.

Special Offer for The Jerusalem Post Readers:

Yitzhak Rabin 1922-1995



This album in English is the most attractive and comprehensive volume to date on Yitzhak Rabin.

200 pages, with extensive biographical details and several hundreds of photographs about the life of the late Prime Minister - including the events following the premature death of the man who has emerged as one of the foremost political leaders of the 20th century.

Covers Rabin's early years, his activities in the pre-State army, his rise to Chief of the General Staff, and his subsequent career as a diplomat

and Prime Minister, culminating in his being awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace and - ultimately - his assassination during a Tel Aviv peace rally.

The album also includes a selection of reactions following the murder, including the assembly of world leaders during his funeral, extracts from their speeches and those of members of the family, friends and associates.

SPECIAL PRICE TO POST READERS
NIS 89 incl. post & packing

Overseas airmail - add NIS 45 p & p

To: Books, The Jerusalem Post, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000

Please send me a copy of Yitzhak Rabin 1922-1995.

Enclosed is my check payable to The Jerusalem Post.

Credit card orders accepted by phone or fax.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Code _____

Tel. (day) _____ Country _____

Please list gift recipients' names and addresses separately

ORDER BY PHONE OR FAX

02-241282

Fax: 02-241212

It Takes a Nixon ...

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

THESE are days when, contrary to legend, Bob Woodward seems Richard Nixon's ultimate revenge on the capital city that drove him into exile. Mr. Woodward, the investigative reporter who teamed brilliantly with Carl Bernstein at The Washington Post in detailing the abuses of the Watergate felons, has ever since specialized in megabook writings that hardly arrive in town on little cats' feet.

Rather, Mr. Woodward's latest oeuvre typically is timed to thunder lucratively for days from the front pages of The Post, where he is now a ranking editor. Attention must be paid as the excerpts emerge of his fly-on-the-wall disclosures about the city's rich political menagerie. Uncanny details of some pol's inner thoughts and outer peccadilloes suddenly lend a novelized sheen and certainty to what, just moments before, had seemed the complex wars-and-all free fall of capital life.

Phones ring in rival news bureaus as editors demand to match this Woodward revelation or that, like that exclusive about how Bob Dole — imagine it — has been secretly demanding of his aides a perfect running mate: a "10," he is said to have said. Lesser news hacks have heard that from him on the stump for weeks, dismissing it as self-serving.

So does the gotcha culture of Washington journalism stride on

well beyond Mr. Nixon, who energized it so Gothically. The man called The Trick now might be caught smiling at the endless capital syndrome of aspersions and revelations packaged so profitably as the hidden truth that everyone who seethed through Watergate surely knows must be there, somewhere. If only Mr. Nixon could be reached in that Beltway Beyond for ironic comment on what he helped certify.

Which brings up the latest Woodward book, "The Choice." It is about the 1996 campaign between President Clinton and Bob Dole, but instantly sparked tabloid headlines about "Hillary's Guru."

The book disclosed at length that Hillary Rodham Clinton had held White House meetings with a New Age psychologist, Jean Houston, who suggested the embattled First Lady close her eyes and imagine a role-model conversation with Eleanor Roosevelt. The Post excerpted this part of the book first, and the story raced through the nation's news industry, spiced into tales of séances.

Mrs. Clinton said mere "brainstorming" for her new book had been sensationalized; she previously tried and praised these imagined heart-to-hearts as a way to buck up her spirits. Her office issued a two-page complaint whose essence was: She's no kook. Mr. Woodward, firm in his reputation for taking the first cut at history, did not disagree in asking fair-minded people to read the book. Sales took off as Washington readers sought to escape the commonplace.

Handwritten text in a box: *1550 من الالهي*

July 11, 1995

Foreign Affairs
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Will the Center Hold?

WASHINGTON On March 13, just after four suicide bombers blew themselves up in Israel, an extraordinary summit was held on the Sinai Peninsula, in Sharm el-Sheikh. That summit brought together for the first time leaders from most of the Arab world and Israel to reaffirm that they were all in the same trench in fighting terrorism. What made the meeting so extraordinary was not simply the fact that Arab leaders came together to bolster Shimon Peres, but that it indicated a new alignment was forming in the Middle East — a new moderate center. For the first time Arab states stretching from Morocco to Saudi Arabia were openly aligning with Israel and leaving Iran, Syria, Libya and Iraq on the sidelines.

In the wake of the Saudi bombing, the Israeli elections and the latest Arab summit, one wonders whether Sharm el-Sheikh won't be remembered as the brief shining moment of a moderate center that came and went. Because the key forces that shaped that moderate center are now all under pressure. Here's how:

THE CORE: At the core of this moderate center, what made it initially possible, was the strategic understanding at Oslo between Israel and the Palestinians to mutually recognize each other and finally resolve their historic dispute. It was that core understanding that paved the way for Israel's opening with the moderate Arab states. That core understanding also made possible Israeli-Palestinian cooperation in a broad range of areas, including security affairs, that were never part of their relationship before.

If the new Israeli Prime Minister, Bibi Netanyahu, preserves that partnership, the moderate center can survive. If he squanders it by treating

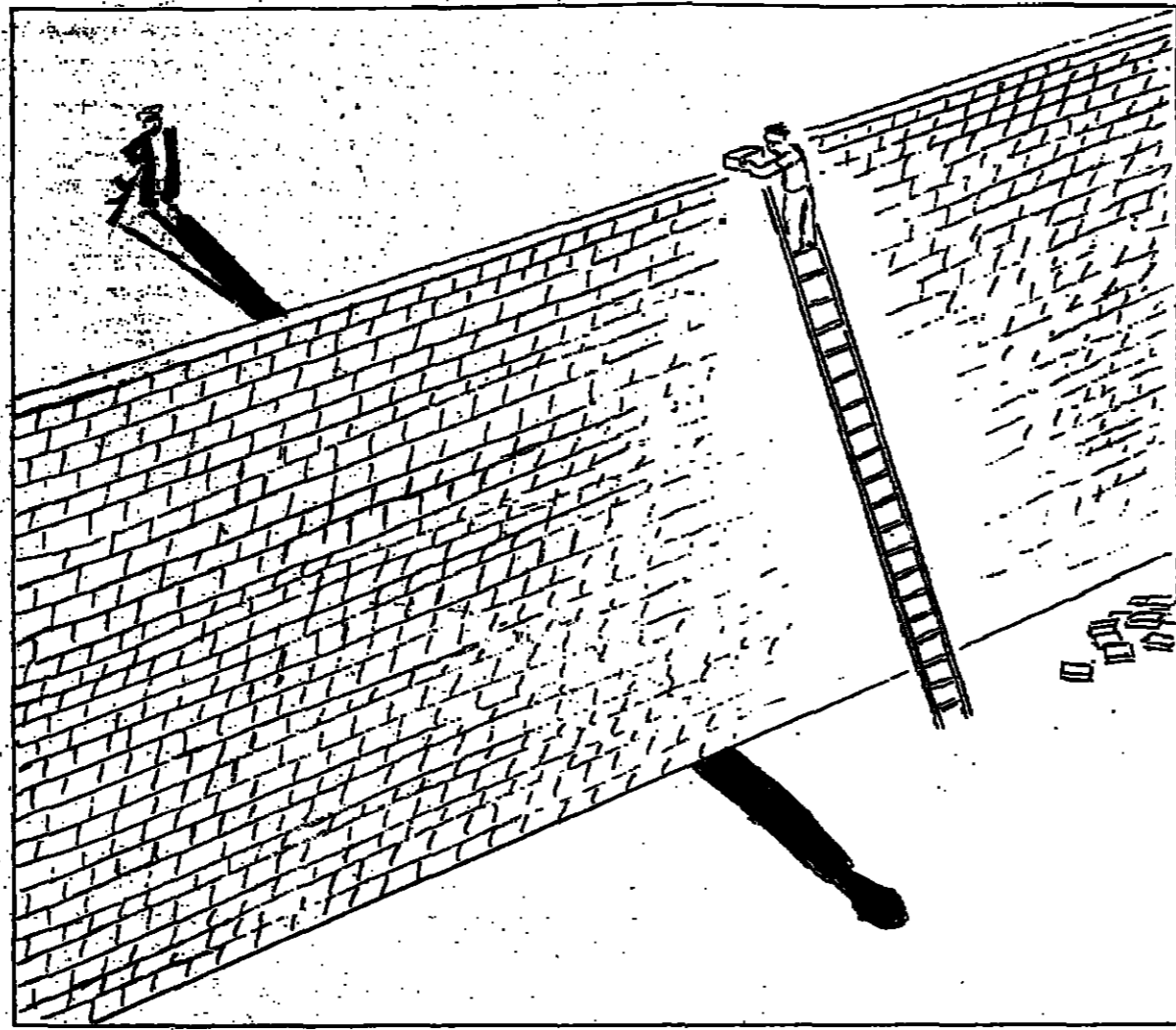
The pressure builds in the Mideast

Mr. Arafat as a pariah, but a partner, then the center won't hold. Israel will enjoy neither quiet at home nor good relations with the Arabs abroad. After initially keeping Mr. Arafat at bay, Mr. Netanyahu, in one good sign, sent two of his top advisers to meet Mr. Arafat last week, triggering a protest from some in his own cabinet. But no one should fool himself here: the only way the moderate center will hold is if the bargain at its core holds, and that bargain says that Mr. Arafat must make a 100 percent effort to insure Israel's security and Israel must make a 100 percent effort to bring about Palestinian self-government in the West Bank and Gaza. Anything less from either side won't work.

THE FIRST RING: But the center will never be strong unless the first ring around the core holds too, and there Egypt is the key. But Egypt today is playing a double game. One day it tries to lead the Arabs closer to Israel; one day it tries to lead them away. This is because Egypt, long the dominant Arab power, is jealous of Israel's rising influence now that it has been integrated into the region. As long as Mr. Peres was in power in Israel, Egypt kept its worst instincts under some control, but the new hard-line Likud Government could be used by Egypt as a pretext to really lead the Arabs away from the center. The recent Cairo Arab summit, which revived some of the most stale anti-Israel rhetoric, was a bad sign.

THE OUTER RING: The latest devastating bombing in Saudi Arabia is bound to intimidate the Saudis and other Gulfies, and make them less willing to be part of any moderate alliance with Israel. There are internal problems in Saudi Arabia. Something is boiling there beneath the sands, and it's more than a few fringe fanatics.

THE U.S.: If the moderate center is to survive, the U.S. is going to have to play the crucial, tough-minded role of the reality principle, reminding everyone of what is required to move forward. Are President Clinton and Secretary of State Christopher up to that? The early signals are not good. Mr. Christopher is already "adapting" or muffling long-held principles of U.S. Middle East policy, so as not to offend the new Israeli Government. That will only encourage parties to duck reality, not face it. To Israelis and Palestinians the U.S. must make clear that they will never wage a successful, cooperative war against terrorism without also waging a meaningful war for peace. To Egypt the U.S. must make clear that its leadership in the region is needed, but only as a leader of inclusion not polarization. To Saudi Arabia, the U.S. must make clear that it wants the Saudi regime to survive, but that no Saudi ruler can help the Saudi rulers if they won't take a hard look at all the sources of their domestic troubles — and that means not only looking underground but in the mirror.



Gay Britton

An Invitation to Terror

By Chas. W. Freeman Jr.

WASHINGTON On Feb. 25, 1991, just three days before President George Bush proclaimed the end of allied combat operations, the last Iraqi Scud of the Persian Gulf war hit a barracks in Dhahran, killing 28 newly arrived United States Army reservists and wounding scores more.

Last week's carnage in Dhahran recalled that earlier horror. It also brought home to Americans that five long years after the spectacular victory of Desert Storm, American troops are still on combat duty in the Persian Gulf. Thousands remain in Saudi Arabia and other gulf countries, flying missions with full combat loads, manning anti-missile defenses and enforcing a naval blockade against Iraq. And they will stay there, far from home and vulnerable to more terrorist attacks, as long as Saddam Hussein remains in power in Baghdad.

This is far cry from the return to normalcy that Americans and our Arab coalition partners looked toward in 1991. We had given Presi-

Trying to 'contain' Iraq when we should be trying to change it.

dent Hussein a terrible licking. We were sure his days were numbered. We had been careful not to weaken his country to the point where his successor would be unable to play Iraq's traditional role as a counterweight to Iran.

We expected Baghdad to see that it was in its interest to comply with United Nations demands that it dismantle its weapons of mass destruction — its missiles and its nuclear, chemical and biological arsenal — and to seek a renewal of peace with the Gulf Arabs, including Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

We thought the Gulf Arabs would form an effective collective defense organization, backed by Egypt, United States land and air forces would then be no more necessary than they had been before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Americans and Gulf Arabs alike celebrated as our troops headed home.

But Saddam Hussein is still there, cheating all he can on United Nations efforts to halt his drive for nuclear, chemical and biological weapons with which to gain revenge on Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. And with the Gulf Arabs as militarily disunited as ever, the only thing stopping him is the United States military presence in the region.

Operation Desert Storm burdened the Saudi economy with huge debts. Saudi living standards have fallen substantially as the kingdom's generous subsidies to its citizens are squeezed to pay off wartime loans and subsidize the coalition forces (Americans and a few Britons) still in the kingdom. The presence of these foreign forces chafes at the country's social and political stability, and resentment swells the ranks

Chas. W. Freeman Jr. was United States Ambassador to Saudi Arabia during the Persian Gulf war.

of extremist groups hostile to the Saudi royal family and the West. The royal family's sensitivity to this resentment accounts for the initial Saudi press reports identifying the victims of last Tuesday's bombing only as "foreigners," not as United States airmen.

Americans and Saudis would be a great deal more comfortable if the situation allowed what both expected after the gulf war: the withdrawal of United States forces from the kingdom. But because Mr. Hussein managed to escape the political consequences of his military debacle, the United Nations effort to curb his military ambitions must continue as long as he remains in power, and a United States military presence is essential to that effort.

Perhaps it's time to get serious about removing Mr. Hussein from power. But current American policy isn't really behind such an effort. It is based on the notion of "dual containment" — isolating both Iraq and Iran in the region, cutting them off from the world economic and trading system, and balancing the two nations' military power with American forces while waiting for Mr. Hussein to fall.

The best that can be said of this strategy is that so far it has not brought Iraq and Iran together against the United States, as many of its critics feared it would. The worst may be that it has handed Baghdad and Tehran the initiative. Either can yank huge deployments of American forces to the gulf whenever it wishes to do so. Iraq has successfully pulled this particular string several times. Iran could do the same.

Iraq may be isolated, but Iran is not. The Gulf Arabs have joined our European and Asian allies in normalizing diplomatic relations and carrying on a thriving export trade with Tehran. The only coalition member with a policy of "dual containment" seems to be the United States. Efforts to force our allies to join us in isolating Iran anger them more than they hurt Tehran.

The Iraqi threat is military. United States forces in the region help contain it. But it is hard to see the relevance of these forces to the Iranian threat, which has consisted of terrorist actions in places far from the gulf, like Lebanon. The destabilizing effects of the American military presence in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and other Gulf Arab states may, in fact, be generating new targets for Iranian-backed terrorism.

Meanwhile, George Bush and Margaret Thatcher have been removed from office. King Fahd is visibly nearing the end of his reign. But Saddam Hussein is still in Baghdad, plotting revenge. Even if he didn't give the perpetrators of Tuesday's atrocity a helping hand, he must have been pleased by what they did.

"Dual containment" is a policy with no apparent benefits and many risks. It is hard to argue that it amounts to more than a catchy slogan for keeping United States forces in the gulf indefinitely until Mr. Hussein falls from power. Five years

have gone by, and that has not happened. It might happen tomorrow, of course. Then again, it might not happen anytime in the next five years. Until it does, American forces will be stuck in the gulf, Saudi Arabia will remain troubled by their presence and extremists will see them as attractive targets for terrorism.

There are plenty of Iraqis eager to get rid of Saddam Hussein. The United States spends less to support them than its Air Force spends to fly a day's missions in the gulf. We need to get our priorities straight.

Our interests and those of our Gulf Arab allies call out for a strategy that does not depend on permanent stationing of United States forces in the gulf. Helping the Iraqi people rid themselves of Saddam Hussein, not humpering down behind barricades in Dhahran or picking fights with our allies over Iran, is the key to security in the gulf.

Liberties MAUREEN DOWD Aldrich Aims

WASHINGTON It was a culture clash bound to clatter into public. Civil servants vs. uncivil kids. Starched shirts vs. short skirts. Scotch vs. bongos. Men with guns vs. men with men. George Bush's Yale '48 vs. Hillary Rodham's Yale '73.

When the Clintons swept into town on Harry Thomason's red carpet, they alienated the permanent White House establishment. After a scandal-tarred campaign, Mrs. Clinton demanded to be surrounded with people she trusted, even if it meant axing non-political staffers and replacing them with Craig Livingstonesque lightweight loyalists.

Fearing that those assigned to protect and serve still loved the Bushes and were spreading rumors about the Clintons' personal life, she fired an usher, tried to transfer Secret Service agents and, according to David Watkins, encouraged him to get "our people in" the travel office. A note found in Vincent Foster's briefcase fretted that the ushers had "plotted" to pad the Clintons' redecoration costs for the White House, "taking advantage of... HRC."

Now comes "Unlimited Access," by Gary Aldrich, a prissy slap back from institutional Washington. It seems Mrs. Clinton was right to fear that there were White House holdovers eager to squal about the Clintons' volatile private life.

The author, an F.B.I. agent for 25 years, the last three at the Clinton White House, peddles some salacious, unverified gossip, but is most illuminating on the internecine struggle between the unbuttoned meritocracy and the buttoned bureaucracy. "Revenge of the prude," sniffs George Stephanopoulos.

Like Jimmy Carter, the Clintons show more compassion for the masses than for individuals. But Mr. Aldrich is so censorious and petty that you begin to root for the scuffed, shaggy side. It's like a family fight, when one side is screaming, "And then what about that Thanksgiving, when we stayed up all night making pies, and you didn't even eat them?"

Moaning about the counterculture, Mr. Aldrich says another F.B.I. agent told him: "Kill the pigs. 'Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Cong are gonna win.' That's who they are, Gary. They're the people we used to arrest."

He says that, as an agent-in-training, he policed anti-Vietnam protesters on the Mall who chanted "Right on, death to the scum F.B.I. pigs!" "On the other side of the Atlantic,

the future President of the United States was leading a march against his own country's embassy."

Mr. Aldrich, whose favorite words are "impeccable," "letter-perfect" and "immaculate," comes off as a cross between Elliott Ness and Miss Manners. He tsks-tsks about advance men who look like "bikers," about Mr. Stephanopoulos blowing bubbles with gum and littering potato chips, and about Clintonites with bad phone manners, peasant blouses, loud ties and earth shoes. ("I haven't worn earth shoes since seventh grade," says Mr. Stephanopoulos.) A woman in a tight shirt and short skirt so offends Mr.

In the line of ire.

Aldrich he "almost wondered if I'd walked into Hooters by mistake."

Then he turns round and scores Mr. Stephanopoulos for "working hard to perfect the 'fluff' and 'cascade' over his forehead."

Complaining about the First Lady's affirmative action efforts, which he describes as favoring "tough, minority, and lesbian women, as well as weak, minority, and gay men," he defines the difference between the Bushies and the Clintonites as "Norman Rockwell on the one hand and Berkeley, California, with an Appalachian twist on the other."

The Clinton crowd can't do anything right. "One young lady was dressed entirely in black — black pants, black T-shirt, black shoes, even black lipstick." Has Agent Aldrich never been to Manhattan?

"There was a unisex quality to the Clinton staff that set it far apart from the Bush administration," he writes. "It was the shape of their bodies. In the Clinton administration, the broad-shouldered, pants-wearing women and the pear-shaped, bowling-pin men blurred distinctions between the sexes."

He reports with horror that Al and Tipper Gore are Deadheads. He rushes to Mack McLarty to complain that an official uses coarse language. And coffee on the floor of the canteen sends him into a tizzy. "I took some napkins and tried to mop up the mess before someone got hurt," he writes.

Poor Agent Aldrich. He's looked at life from both sides now.

New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel

In many respects, the history of Zionism is co-extensive with the history of the Jewish people in the last hundred years. The intense debate between proponents and opponents of Zionism has abated only with the renewal of Jewish statehood in 1948, when world Jewry rallied in support of the newly-born state.

Produced by the team led by Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder as Editor-in-Chief, with articles contributed by professors, diplomats, journalists, politicians - all experts in their respective fields, this 1521 pp. two-volume encyclopedia presents a comprehensive reference source for anyone seeking authentic knowledge of the whole subject of Zionism and the State of Israel. Herzl Press Publication.

JP Price: NIS 479.00 incl. VAT and door-to-door delivery (where available)



JUST OUT

To: Books, The Jerusalem Post, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000

Please deliver New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel (2 vol.).

Enclosed is my check payable to The Jerusalem Post, or credit card details:

VISA ISRACARD DINERS
Number _____ Exp. _____
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Code _____ ID No. _____
Tel. (day) _____ Signature _____

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it unless it is accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks.



A Chinese woman casts her shadow in front of a Beijing clock about to count just 365 days until her country regains the sovereignty of Hong Kong. (Reuter)

Hong Kong starts its final year under the British flag

IT'S now less than a year until the British flag comes down and Hong Kong rejoins China. For the Beijing regime, the handover at midnight on June 30, 1997 ends over 150 years of humiliation at the hands of "occupying barbarians." China's aging leaders have declared a two-day holiday and celebrations to mark the British departure.

Will Hong Kong people cheerfully come to the party? Tens of thousands will not. They have already left.

Others have insurance in the form of a foreign passport tucked away or a child sent abroad to establish residency.

During each of the last few years, around 60,000 people have quietly packed up and emigrated rather than face the prospect of being handed over to an authoritarian government so many risked their lives to flee.

The exodus continues, but the majority of Hong Kong's six million people, living on borrowed time in a borrowed place, have no option other than to hope for the best.

With less than a year to go, the omens are mixed for those peering anxiously into the future.

Both Beijing and London clearly want Hong Kong's astonishing success story to continue. When Britain promised in 1984 to return its wealthy, vibrant colony, China in turn promised freedoms that would be unthinkable on the mainland.

"China does not want anyone to be able to say that Hong Kong was one of the world's great success stories under British rule, and then went down the tubes as soon as China took over," wrote Richard Margolis, a former British diplomat involved in the negotiations

and now with Merrill Lynch. Hence, Chinese patriarch Deng Xiaoping's "one country, two systems" formula which promises Hong Kong considerable political and economic independence.

Hong Kong people and not Communist Party cadres from Beijing - and certainly not from neighboring Guangzhou (Canton) - will run the place. Hong Kong will maintain its independent economy and capitalist way of life for 50 years.

These pledges appear to satisfy Hong Kong's powerful business elite which has been assiduously courted by China.

Some of Hong Kong's most prominent tycoons have been rewarded for their support with appointments to China's powerful Preparatory Committee charged with ensuring a smooth transition and shaping Hong Kong's first post-1997 administration.

HONG KONG'S 12-year transition has so far been a turbulent one, with London and Beijing frequently at loggerheads, most pointedly over the electoral reforms spearheaded by Hong Kong's 28th and almost certainly last British Governor, Chris Patten.

By any standards the reforms were modest. They were a response to strident demands that reached fever pitch in the wake of China's bloody crackdown on its own pro-democracy movement in 1989, an event seared into Hong Kong's collective memory.

The pro-democracy lobby, which grew out of the shattered illusions following the crackdown, was not mollified.

But China exploded in fury. The reformed legislature goes the moment the British leave. In its place, an appointed interim body will serve for a year or so until elections are held under a format that meet's Beijing's approval.

Hong Kong's human rights laws, another product of Patten's stewardship, would be watered down. "They were always deeply, deeply suspicious of the slightest change proposed by us," said a former senior Hong Kong government official who took part in a numbing series of negotiations when China objected to a new Hong Kong airport.

"They were convinced that all we wanted to do was to empty the kitty by dumping the reserves in the harbor.

The democracy movement is expected to protest with its usual vigor. It was pointedly excluded from the Preparatory Committee and is suspicious of China plans to use the provisional legislature's brief tenure to snuff out cherished freedoms.

Some have talked of occupying the legislative chamber, others of street demonstrations.

Much then hinges on how Beijing, which is not used to being so rudely challenged, responds, and how Hong Kong, grown used to London's long leash, reacts.

DeGolyer sees the handover itself as the critical point, when the dangers of a disastrous clash are at their highest.

"The possibility for events to spiral rapidly out of control in circumstances of darkness, high emotions, low trust, and official uncertainty cannot and should not be underestimated," he said. (Reuter)

UNDERSTAND HEBREW WITHOUT READING IT

A revolutionary transliterated dictionary that allows one to understand Hebrew without having to read it.

- Over 50,000 entries organized alphabetically.
- Entries in English/Hebrew/Transliterated Hebrew and English/Hebrew/Hebrew/English.

Sample: *hag'el - et tsa' mi/ owner, proprietor; luf- of: ha'negel.*

JP Price NIS.105

To: Books, The Jerusalem Post, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000

Please send me Webster's New World Hebrew Dictionary.

Enclosed is my check for NIS 105 per copy, payable to The Jerusalem Post, or credit card details:

For door-to-door deliver, please add NIS 15

Visa Isracard Diners Exp. _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Code _____

Tel. (day) _____ ID No. _____

Signature _____

Webster's New World Hebrew Dictionary

Hebrew - English • English - Hebrew

A revolutionary transliterated dictionary requiring no prior knowledge of the language.

Over 50,000 entries

Hayim Baitsan

Compromising to keep the Jewish people as one

The Jewish Agency resolves to preserve unity by maintaining the Law of Return and the 'current situation,' reports Marilyn Henry

IN what was called a "historic" vote laden with symbolism, Jewish peoplehood prevailed over politics as world Jewry voted this week for *Am Ehad*.

The Jewish Agency concluded its annual assembly last Wednesday in Jerusalem with a unanimous vote calling for the "preservation of the unity of the Jewish people."

Israeli and Diaspora Jews - the religious, secular and political partisans - passed a resolution that would preserve that unity with a call to maintain the Law of Return and the "current situation."

The impetus came from Diaspora fund-raisers, who have been struggling to maintain American financial support for the Jewish Agency. The broad resolution was expected to simultaneously help bolster Diaspora fund-raising, to express Diaspora fears about the status quo to the new Israeli government, and to boost the prospects of the Reform and Conservative movements in Israel.

"The issue is not new. That we responded is not new," said Shoshana Cardin, president of the United Israel Appeal. "What is new is the unanimity, the wall-



Cardin: 'We can overcome differences.'



Ades: Different interpretations

obrating the same thing. "I am still not sure my interpretation of the 'current situation' is the same as the other side," Ades said after the vote.

The resolution urges the government to abstain from legislation that would change the "current situation," which, for some, was the code word for "status quo." The assembly deleted specific references to "status quo," "pluralism" and "other issues [that] may estrange major parts of the Jewish people from their linkage to the nation, to their culture and the Jewish state."

"The resolution may be benign in its language, but this is historic," Rabbi Uri Regev, a leader of the Reform movement in Israel, said in an interview before the vote.

The vote "showed that the various segments [of the Jewish world] were willing to compromise, to be sensitive to each other's needs and concerns," Cardin said. "I think it showed that we can overcome many differences."

The non-Orthodox "are recognized as part of the Jewish people," she said.

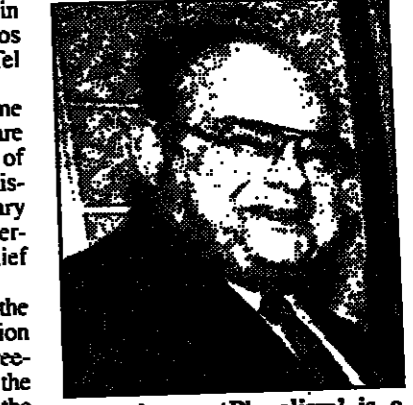
the Diaspora."

While pluralism is the vaunted US political creed, religious pluralism also is the fault line for the American Jewish community. "The word pluralism today from our point of view is a battle cry," said Mendy Granchrow, president of the Orthodox Union, the congregational wing of mainstream American Orthodoxy. "The Orthodox world cannot accept pluralism."

Coalitions or umbrella groups that include all religious streams traditionally have been forced to skirt any position on the issue because they simply cannot agree.

When the subject of pluralism inadvertently reaches the table, it wreaks havoc on American Jewish organizations. Last year, for example, Orthodox groups suspended their activities within the American Zionist Movement after a "procedural mistake" put the Zionist group on the side of pluralism.

The assembly's vote, then, might serve as a reminder to the Americans, as well. "The perception that we've reached agreement will enhance our ability to work together in the US," Ades said. "I hope this will lead to greater tolerance."



Granchrow: 'Pluralism' is a battle cry.

getting that recognition was far from painless. Wednesday's debate lasted nearly two hours and became ensnared in confusing parliamentary rules as organizers hustled among 400 delegates to find compromise language that would soothe all sides.

"Not everyone is going to feel that we achieved a milestone," said Alan Ades, president of Conservative Synagogue of Jerusalem. "They were always deeply, deeply suspicious of the slightest change proposed by us," said a former senior Hong Kong government official who took part in a numbing series of negotiations when China objected to a new Hong Kong airport.

"They were convinced that all we wanted to do was to empty the kitty by dumping the reserves in the harbor.

The democracy movement is expected to protest with its usual vigor. It was pointedly excluded from the Preparatory Committee and is suspicious of China plans to use the provisional legislature's brief tenure to snuff out cherished freedoms.

Some have talked of occupying the legislative chamber, others of street demonstrations.

Much then hinges on how Beijing, which is not used to being so rudely challenged, responds, and how Hong Kong, grown used to London's long leash, reacts.

DeGolyer sees the handover itself as the critical point, when the dangers of a disastrous clash are at their highest.

"The possibility for events to spiral rapidly out of control in circumstances of darkness, high emotions, low trust, and official uncertainty cannot and should not be underestimated," he said. (Reuter)

macy that American Reform and Conservative Jews seem to take for granted in the US.

"Don't put geographic boundaries on the principle of pluralism," Regev told the delegates before the vote. "Please don't think that pluralism is good in Toronto, New York and Buenos Aires, but not in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv."

It is only recently, some observers said, that Israelis are grasping the American idea of pluralism. But many seem to misunderstand the set of voluntary circumstances that promote alternative forms of religious belief and practice.

Pluralism is enshrined in the US, which has a strict separation of church and state. In the free-for-all of American society, the authority and legitimacy of the clergy comes from the bottom, from the acclamation of the individual congregations. The role of the state is largely passive; it does not stand in the way of what the congregations choose.

Observers noted that in Israel the non-Orthodox have far to go in building the kind of popular support for their movements that is the power of their American counterparts.

Others noted that the American Jewish community itself struggles mightily with the question of pluralism. "This problem [of non-Orthodox recognition] is not unique to Israel," said Ades, whose organization represents Conservative synagogues in the US. "We have these problems in

Don't waste waste, say environmentalists

EARTHLY CONCERNS
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

SWITZERLAND buries only about 12 percent of its garbage, the rest is recycled and, in the case of organic materials, composted.

Japan buries 19 percent. Both countries impose stiff taxes on companies that produce products in containers or packages that cannot be recycled.

In Israel, however, a full 96 percent of solid waste goes to the local garbage dump where it is burned or buried.

Burying uses up otherwise valuable land in a land-poor state such as ours, and burning (not modern incineration but open-pit burning) pollutes the air for kilometers around and produces a variety of dangerous gases, many of them linked to emphysema, asthma and even cancer.

It isn't that the citizenry of Israel is opposed to recycling. In fact wherever pilot projects, such as in Kiryat Tivon and in Yavne, have been instituted the response has been overwhelmingly supportive.

It is not Israeli citizens but successive governments from 1948 until now that have ignored these issues. The Ministry of the Interior is the directing agency for municipalities and for local and regional councils but proper waste disposal is so low on their priority list that one can't even find it.

The ministry claims that "recycling has not proven itself to be an efficient way of disposing of waste," although every country that has instituted a proper recycling program says that it is very successful.

The ministry also claims that "recycling has not shown itself to be economically sound." But the places that use it find it can even be made into a profitable activity. They also say that the public

wouldn't support a system of garbage separation even though pilot projects and every past attempt to get public support have succeeded.

In fact burial - rather than other disposal methods - is subsidized by the government since Israel charges the municipalities and councils only NIS 22 per ton for disposal while countries that have tackled the problem charge at least 10 times this per ton.

The NIS 22 charged here is only a small part of the actual cost so it is no wonder that municipalities and councils choose to ignore the "Collection and Disposal of Waste for Recycling" law that was passed by the Knesset in 1992 and which obliges them to set up facilities and programs for recycling solid waste.

Other countries have demanded that locally produced and imported items be packaged in recyclable material and have encouraged the reduction of unnecessary packaging. For instance, many types of tuna have both a tin and a cardboard box even though the information necessary can all be printed on the tin.

Excess packaging and non-recyclable packaging are taxed in more "enlightened" countries. There is now a proposed law here called the "bottle bill" that is actively supported by the Union for Environmental Defense and other environmental pressure groups that would require all bottles and other containers to be returnable against a deposit and that would impose a surcharge on non-recyclable packaging.

The bill has already received the support and approval of the Knesset Economic Committee and will be voted on in the new Knesset.

4 ONE-DAY TRIPS

with Shorashim & The Jerusalem Post Travel Club

Spend a day away-from-it-all on one of Shorashim's enlightening and enlightening English speaking trips. You'll meet your sort of people, visit off-the-beaten-track places and hear interesting and informative explanations from expert guides.

Space is limited so book early and avoid disappointment.

Tuesday July 23
ON THE HALUTZIM TRAIL
Over a hundred years ago, the halutzim came to build and be rebuilt. Did they achieve their goal? And what are the new pioneers creating? We'll visit both the newly developing neighborhoods and the historical sites of Zichron Ya'akov, Rosh Pina of the First Aliya, Kinneret where the poet Rachel lived, created and is buried, and Deganya, the first kibbutz.
NIS 170 (including lunch).
Tour guide: MIRIAM SHILOH

Monday August 5
REDISCOVERING CAESAREA
You may have visited Caesarea before, but now, using new excavation methods, Herod's town has been rediscovered. He'd be happy to see it today. The beautiful new bath house, the hippodrome, Herod's temple, the imperial storage rooms, the baths, and more.
NIS 170 (including lunch).
Tour guide: YONI SHAPIRO

Tuesday August 6
JERUSALEM OF THE SECOND TEMPLE
During the Roman era Jerusalem was considered one of the great cities of the world. Wealthy Roman occupiers lived alongside Jewish tradition in the shadow of Herod's temple. We'll tour reconstructed ancient sites and feel what it was like to live in Jerusalem in the first century C.E. Lunch at the Culinarium, the Roman restaurant in the Cardo.
NIS 180 (including lunch).
Tour guide: NAOMI MILLER

Tuesday August 20
IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE SANHEDRIN
The Bar Kochba Revolt failed. 600,000 Jews died. Jerusalem was destroyed. Jews were sold as slaves and the study of the Torah came to an end. But a new center arose in the Galilee and the towns of Usha, Zippori, Shefaram and Tiberias became famous. We'll visit them, as well as Beit Shearim. Lunch at Hoshaya.
NIS 170 (including lunch).
Tour guide: MOTTI AVIAM

The tour price includes transportation from Jerusalem or Tel Aviv and return, entrance to all sites, background lectures and on-the-spot explanations. Lunch as indicated. Pick-up and drop-off along the route when possible and arranged beforehand. 10% discount when you book all four tours.

Reservations and further information:
SHORASHIM, POB 7588, 14 Rehov Abarbanel, Rehavia, Jerusalem, 91074.
Tel 02-666231 (9:30 a.m. - 2:30 p.m.)
Ask for Romit, Tami or Varda.

CREDIT CARD HOLDERS!

FAX OR PHONE YOUR ADS IN.

TEL AVIV: Fax. 03-6390-277, Tel. 03-6390-333
JERUSALEM: Fax. 02-388-408, Tel. 02-315-608

Porat fines Hadash, UTJ for financial irregularities

EVELYN GORDON

ALL parties except Hadash and United Torah Judaism got a clean bill of health on their financial reports for 1995, according to the state comptroller's annual report on party financing, published yesterday.

Comptroller Miriam Ben-Porat fined Hadash and UTJ NIS 100,000 and NIS 75,000 respectively, for failing to include the activities of some of their branches in their final report. However, this is much less than the maximum fine of three months' funding, or NIS 1 million for Hadash and NIS 834,450 for UTJ, which indicates that the violations were relatively minor.

Ben-Porat said she considered giving negative reports to several other parties as well, including Labor and Likud, but in the end did not. Her doubts about Labor, which also applied to Meretz and Hadash, related to the rally last November at which prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was murdered. This rally, which involved large expenditures, was officially sponsored by an independent organization. However, Labor, Meretz and Hadash all ran ads publicizing the event, and clearly intended to get political benefit from it, Ben-Porat wrote.

"There is no doubt that the expenditures connected to the rally constituted a contribution to the parties mentioned, and especially to the Labor Party, in violation of paragraph 8 of the Party Funding Law [which forbids political donations by organizations]," Ben-Porat wrote. "However, in light of the tragic conclusion of the rally, and the inestimably heavy price which the horrible murder exacted, I cannot bring my hand to sign a negative report only on the basis of the violations mentioned above."

Regarding the Likud, Ben-Porat said her doubts related to various activities which it, the NRP, Tsomet and Moledet carried out in conjunction with the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea and Samaria, including a major rally in Jerusalem's Zion Square in October. In each case, there was a clear written agreement as to how much money each party would contribute, and both Tsomet and Moledet paid their shares. However, the Likud and the NRP did not. By allowing the council to foot the bill, Ben-Porat said, Likud and NRP were guilty of illegally accepting a donation from an organization.

"However, I decided to take into account the fact that the Likud and the NRP fulfilled all the other requirements of the law, and so - not without hesitations - I concluded that it would be too stringent to give these parties a negative report," she wrote.

A third issue which Ben-Porat said caused her considerable uncertainty was the contributions which both Tsomet and Moledet received from the Hecht Fund prior to the 1992 Knesset elections. Originally, she had okayed both these contributions, on the understanding that they came from an individual. Last year, however, she discovered that the Hecht Fund is in fact a registered organization. She therefore considered retroactively giving these two parties a negative report.

However, she said, a long time has passed since the contributions were received, and Moledet, at least, appears to have been genuinely confused about the fund's status. Therefore, she said, she decided to settle for making the parties refund the money, which both have done.

Tsomet, however, is currently being investigated by the police regarding two contradictory letters that it received from the fund's accountants. Depending on the results of this investigation, Ben-Porat said, she might still retroactively cancel Tsomet's positive report.

In her report, Ben-Porat also indicated two sections of the law which she believes need to be changed. The section which deals with contributions from the Histadrut is very unclear, she said, while the section which forbids parties to take out loans from anyone except a bank does not include any penalties for disobedience.

Finally, she discussed the habit many cities have of exempting parties from paying municipal rates (*armona*) on their local offices, which constitutes an illegal contribution. Because both the parties and the municipalities have made considerable progress towards correcting this fault since she sent a letter of warning last June, she wrote, she decided not to penalize any of the parties for such behavior in this report.

According to the report, the parties received NIS 78.4 million from the state in 1995, and spent NIS 79.8 million. These expenditures were within the permitted limits.

Court rejects Moledet request to join election fraud appeal

EVELYN GORDON

THE Jerusalem District Court yesterday rejected Moledet's request to join the Labor Party's appeal against the election results, thereby ensuring that the appeal will be confined to the prime ministerial race.

Labor's original appeal asked that the results of every ballot box in the country be checked for fraud and that new elections be held if the results of this check uncover enough cases of suspected fraud to throw the outcome of the prime ministerial race in doubt. Since the gap between Binyamin Netanyahu and Shimon Peres was less than 30,000 votes, Labor argued, a relatively small number of apparently fraudulent ballots would be enough to invalidate the results.

However, Labor's appeal related only to the prime ministerial race, whereas Moledet's appeal applied to the Knesset race as well. The latter charged that it missed getting a third Knesset seat by only some 300 votes and that it believes fraud accounted for this shortfall.

Judges Vardimos Zailer, Shalom Brenner and David Cheslin rejected Moledet's appeal on the spot, on the grounds that it was filed after the legal deadline. By law, appeals against the election results can be filed only within 15 days of when the final results are published in the government's official gazette, *Reshumot*.

On Thursday, the court will hear the continuation of Labor's appeal, after the Central Elections Committee and the Likud have submitted their responses. The appeal is based on Labor's check of some 100 polling stations, in a large percentage of which the party claims to have uncovered fraud. Both the CEC and the Likud said they wanted to check these findings themselves before responding to the appeal.

Moledet leader Rehavam Ze'evi, asked by reporters at yesterday's hearing whether he was really willing to endanger Netanyahu's election as prime minister for the sake of a third MK for his party, dismissed this consideration.

"I have no obligation to either side - only to my voters," he said, according to *Yim*. "If Netanyahu won by virtue of votes he shouldn't have gotten, then he should go back where he came from."

Court to hold another hearing on Galnoor dismissal

EVELYN GORDON

THE High Court of Justice partially canceled an injunction yesterday against the replacement of Civil Service Commissioner Yitzhak Galnoor, but kept the show-cause order against his dismissal in place.

The partial lifting of the injunction means the government can take steps to replace Galnoor with former cabinet secretary Shmuel Hollander, as it tried to do last week.

However, the court ruled that should the cabinet decide to appoint Hollander, the appointment will not take effect until three days later, in order to give both Galnoor and the Movement for Quality Government in Israel time to ask for a new injunction.

Finally, the court decided to hold another hearing on the petition after a meeting between Galnoor and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, at which time, if Netanyahu is still set on dismissing Galnoor, the court will make a final decision on the legality of this move.

The decisions were made at a hearing yesterday on the petitions which the movement and Galnoor had submitted against the dismissal. The petitions argued that since the civil service commissioner's job is to prevent the politicization of the civil service, it is improper for this post to itself become a political appointment, whose occupant changes every time the government does.

Following the court's sharp criticism of the move last week - including the fact that no effort was even made to talk to Galnoor - the cabinet decided to rescind Galnoor's dismissal until after Netanyahu meets with Galnoor and explains why he wants to replace him. In light of this decision, the state asked that the petitions be withdrawn.

However, both Galnoor and the movement argued that nothing had really changed, since cabinet secretary Danny Naveh's affidavit to the court made it clear that the meeting with Netanyahu would be pro forma, rather than a real attempt to see whether the two could work together.

"It's a tactical retreat," said movement chairman Eliad Shraga. "But in essence, everything is still the way it was."

Justices Aharon Barak, Gavriel Bach and Mishael Cheshin agreed with the petitioners.

"[It seems that Netanyahu's] mind is made up, and he's only explaining his reasons [to Galnoor]," Bach said. "He's not willing to listen to any arguments... This is just going through the motions."

The justices therefore decided to leave the show-cause order in force, and to hold a final hearing after the Netanyahu-Galnoor meeting. However, they partially lifted the injunction which had prevented the government from taking any steps towards getting Hollander's appointment approved.



Police escort two alleged drug dealers from Jerusalem Magistrate's Court, where their remands and those of eight others were extended yesterday. The 10 were among 12 alleged dealers arrested early Saturday morning at a drug party in Kedushim Park, near Beit Shemesh. (Brian Hendler)

Plea hearing for Vardi, Ben-Ari postponed

RAINE MARCUS

FORMER *Yediot Aharonot* editor Moshe Vardi and former news editor Ruth Ben-Ari appeared in Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday for what should have been a plea hearing. But the hearing was postponed until the end of August.

Vardi and Ben-Ari, who were forced to resign after indictments on wiretapping charges were filed against them, refused to talk to reporters.

The hearing has already been postponed twice, to give the defendants time to appoint a lawyer. Now they have a lawyer, who argued that he had not had sufficient time to examine the evidence. Judge Yehudit Amsterdam agreed to postpone the hearing.

Vardi and Ben-Ari have been charged with commissioning and

listening to tapes of phone conversations of former *Yediot* editor-in-chief Dov Yuskovskiy, before he moved to *Ma'ariv*. They are also charged with listening to illegally recorded cellular phone conversations of *Ma'ariv* publisher Ofer Nimrodi and attempting to tap graphic artist Ori Lipshitz's phone.

The bugging was carried out by former private investigators Amir Ben-Asher and Ya'acov Bak, who are expected to appear as prosecution witnesses. Bak is serving a prison sentence for the attempted murder of Russian mafia members here, while his former partner is still on trial. Bak reached an agreement with the district attorney whereby he would receive a 12-month term for wiretapping if he testified against Ben-Ari and Vardi.

Lau calls on hematologist to apologize to patient

CHIEF Rabbi Yisrael Lau yesterday called on leading hematologist Prof. Eliezer Rachmilevich to apologize to cancer patient Dassy Rabinowitz, following allegations he refused to allow his department to treat her after she had sought treatment from a different physician.

According to the Rabinowitz family, Rachmilevich, who had originally treated Dassy at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem, had left standing orders at the hospital that she not be treated without his consent, after learning she had sought treatment from Prof. Ya'acov Rao at Haifa's Rambam Hospital. As a result, she could not receive an emergency blood transfusion at Hadassah in May, and had to be treated at Shaare Zedek

Hospital instead.

The case has received extensive media coverage since it was first reported in *Ma'ariv* last week. According to the *Ma'ariv* report, Rachmilevich also made insulting remarks about Rao to the Rabinowitz family.

"I would expect that a personality of the level of Prof. Rachmilevich would know that the physician's oath ... is his ultimate commitment," Lau said, in a statement released by his office. "It would not occur to anyone that personal motives or formalities would determine whether a person lives or dies."

Lau also called on Rachmilevich to retract the remarks he reportedly made about Rao. (Itim)

ISRAEL'S No. 1 ELDAN RENT-A-CAR FROM \$9 PER DAY PLUS TAX AND INSURANCE

CELLULAR PHONE AVAILABLE http://www.eldan.co.il/

WEATHER forecast: Party cloudy to clear. Includes a map of Israel with weather icons for various cities like Haifa, Jerusalem, Beer Sheva, etc.

AROUND THE WORLD table with columns for city, low, high, and other weather-related data.

Winning cards In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the queen of spades, king of hearts, nine of diamonds, and king of clubs.

Netanyahu, Clinton will discuss Arad PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu said yesterday that the effort to release captured navigator Ron Arad will continue and the subject will be raised in his forthcoming talks with US President Bill Clinton.

Show-cause for Kiryat Gat mayor who won't resign

EVELYN GORDON

THE High Court of Justice has given Likud MK Ze'ev Boim 15 days to justify his failure to resign as mayor of Kiryat Gat upon being elected to the Knesset. Last week, the court issued a similar show-cause order against Likud MK David Re'em, who declined to resign as mayor of Kiryat Ata. Both men are apparently violating a recently passed law forbidding people to serve as MKs and mayors simultaneously. However, in neither case did the court issue an injunction forbidding the dual tenure until the hearing.

FREE BEER 4th of JULY AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY NEW YORK. FOR all diners, from 12 NOON till THE WEE HOURS OF THE MORNING. New York, New York Herzliya 5 Maskit St. Tel. 09-546496. New York, New York Tel Aviv 30 Ibn Gvirol St. 03-6951541. New York, New York Eilat Moon Valley Hotel. 07-336380. New York, New York Haifa 122 Hanasi Blvd. Tel. 04-8361501.

THE LAST JEWS IN YEMEN A new color video documenting the 2500 year old Jewish community in Yemen, just before their dream of Aliyah to Israel was fulfilled. The film follows Tamar Jarufi-Ungar, a young Israeli of Yemenite descent in search of her ancestral roots. Included are scenes from places never filmed before portraying Jewish everyday life and the biblical, religious practices of this unique and ancient Jewish enclave. Filmed by Jack and Tamar Ungar. Produced by Larry Frisch. Narrated in English, 43 min. JP Price NIS 59.00. On Videocassette in English.

THE RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA The Committee for the Preservation of the Jewish Character of the State of Israel presents a 3-Day International Conference on JUDAISM FACING THE 21ST CENTURY THE CHALLENGE: Science & Technology • Culture & Society • Jewish Education • Judaism: A 'Light Unto the Nations' Mon. thru Wed., July 8th thru 10th at the Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem. AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS: The Chief Rabbis of Israel, Rabbi Yisrael Meir Lau & The Rishon LeZion Rabbi Eliahu Bakshi Doron; The Former Chief Rabbis of Israel, The Rishon LeZion Rabbi Ovadia Yosef & Rabbi Avraham Shapira; The Chief Rabbis of Bulgaria, Poland & Rumania; Mr. Hy Arbesfeld, Prof. Eliezer Goldschmidt, Prof. Ze'ev Lev, Rabbi Zevulun Lieberman, Dr. Gershon Metzger, Mr. Moshe Rivlin, Mr. Gideon Selinger, Rabbi Rene Sirat, Rabbi Dr. Moshe Tendler. Conference Chairman: Rabbi Pesach Levovitz. Rabbi Rafael Grossman, Pres., RCA. Rabbi Zalman Sharfman, Pres., Israel. Rabbi Steven Dworkin, Exec. VP. Rabbi Fred Hollander, Dir., Israel. Co-sponsored by ISRAEL BONDS & THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. Endorsed by THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF RABBIS. REGISTRATION: (02)251923; (02)240273.

Handwritten text in a box at the bottom right of the page.